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NATO-Warsaw Pact Hold Meeting in Vienna

LD111533 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1508 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Vienna, 11 Nov (TASS)—The latest meeting within the framework of consultations between representatives of countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, at which the agreement of elements of a mandate for future talks on armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals was continued, took place here today.

Geneva Nuclear Test Ban Talks Open 10 Nov

LD102025 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] The first round of Soviet-U.S. talks on limiting and ceasing nuclear tests has opened in Geneva. Our correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev met Comrade (Palyanykh), head of the Soviet delegation [title as heard].

[Begin (Palyanykh) recording] We regard the talks that have just started as very important and we proceed from the position that they will make a weighty contribution to the solution of such an important disarmament problem as the complete cessation of nuclear tests.

The USSR's position on the question of nuclear tests is well known. We prefer a radical solution—an immediate end to all nuclear tests and nuclear explosions. We are prepared for this. The USSR's proposal to end tests and return to the moratorium remains in force. If the other side would agree to end its tests and state its readiness to join in a moratorium, then a moratorium could be declared tomorrow. That is The USSR's position.

During the talks the sides should reach agreement, as a first step, on effective measures of verification that will make it possible to ratify the Soviet-U.S. treaties of 1974 and 1976. After that problem has been resolved, the sides could, without artificial pauses and delays, begin to resolve other problems identified in the joint Soviet-U.S. statement on this subject. I am referring to the statement adopted jointly by USSR Foreign Minister Comrade Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz in September during Comrade Shevardnadze's visit to Washington.

Thus, proceeding from this joint statement and guided by it, the sides could discuss questions of further limiting nuclear explosions, according to their power and number, on the way to a complete end and a total nuclear test ban.

The USSR delegation has instructions to work to complete the elaboration of improved measures of verification for the abovementioned treaties as rapidly as possible, preferably in the first half of 1988.. [end recording]

Reportage, Comment on INF Treaty Negotiations

NATO Seeks Compensatory Buildup

PM101505 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Yevgeniy Grigorev "Commentator's Column": "'Arms Upgrading' Again?"]

[Text] At a time when the final touches are being put to the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles in Geneva, people deep within NATO are quite openly submitting a demand for some kind of "compensation." This bloc's military circles depict the upcoming elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles as "damage" and a "loss" for their defense and are proposing plugging the imaginary gaps in the alliance's nuclear arsenals by deploying new nuclear arms in Western Europe.

In this connection the entire Western press is reporting on an experts' report recently presented to the NATO Nuclear Planning Group at the level of defense ministers (its latest session was held in Monterey, California, United States). The report is, of course, secret. But it is no coincidence that it was disclosed in the guise of a "leak" right down to the details. This is an obvious trial balloon in the initial process of winning over public opinion. The "scenarios" proposed for its attention envisage putting an additional number of U.S. submarines with nuclear missiles at the disposal of the NATO commander in chief; increasing the number of carrier aircraft with "surface-to-air" missiles and cruise missiles distinct from those subject to prohibition under the treaty; deploying new nuclear artillery shells with more than doubled range; and siting new "Lance" missiles, which would be practically identical to the class of operational-tactical missiles being banned. In the estimation of some Western observers, if such "compensation measures" were implemented, NATO nuclear arsenals in Western Europe would not only not be reduced but would increase.

The NATO military circles' plans are an example of truly distorted thinking. What can be more cynical than such "preparation" for the signing of a treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles? "Like Janus, the ancient Roman god," the London *Financial Times* writes angrily, "Western strategists dealing with nuclear arms are two-faced: They are ready to eliminate ground-based cruise missiles and Pershing missiles only in order to embark on the modernization of a range of shorter-range armaments and, possibly, put into service some new missiles which could be launched from the skies over Europe and surrounding seas."

I do not think that the peoples of Europe, yes, and of the whole world would agree to such a prospect. They welcome the upcoming signing of a treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles, precisely as a step—the first step—toward reducing, not continuing or,

even worse, building up the nuclear arms race. Anything else would be senseless. The position of the European and world public is absolutely obvious on this score. For the elimination of two classes of nuclear missile armaments is objectively not a "minus" but a "plus" for European and international security.

But this is what is surprising and alarming. For the plans for notorious "compensation" are being put forward by experts and discussed by ministers from the very governments of those NATO countries which are officially welcoming the treaty on the elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. So what are these governments really in favor of? A reduction or a buildup in nuclear armaments in Europe? It would be interesting to hear appropriate explanations in the capitals of the relevant North Atlantic bloc states.

Gerasimov On 'Dificulties'

LD120414 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0305 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow 12 Nov (TASS)—*Pravda* today writes about the reports by Western mass media that at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva, the Soviet side is allegedly delaying the achievement of the accord on scrapping medium- and short-range missiles by refusing to supply information about the deployment [razmeshcheniye] and types of missiles. They also report, writes the paper, that Max Kampelman, leader of the U.S. delegation is going to Geneva in connection with this in order to speed up the process of talks.

The *Pravda* editorial office asked Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, to comment on these reports. He said: The meeting between M. Kampelman and Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy of the USSR Foreign Ministry has planned earlier within the framework of the preparation for the visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to the United States and is not connected with the difficulties which have arisen at the talks. These difficulties are related to the last-minute proposals raised by the U.S. side to subject to verification [kontrol] the Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles under the guise of verifying [proverka] the absence of medium-range missiles. There exist sufficient national technical means to distinguish the medium-range missiles and the intercontinental ballistic missiles. The USSR will, of course, be ready to talk about the verification of intercontinental ballistic missiles, but during the next stage when the accord on reducing strategic offensive weapons is discussed. We hope that it will be possible to eliminate quickly the difficulties which have arisen.

Karpov on Talks, Testing, SDI

LD120918 Moscow TASS in English 0849 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent asked Viktor Karpov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Arms Control and Disarmament Directorate, to answer several questions concerning Soviet-American talks limiting and eventually halting nuclear testing, which have got under way in Geneva.

Question: What are the tasks of the Geneva negotiations?

Answer: The talks which have begun in Geneva are a result of the Soviet Union's consistent policy of seeking an end to, and a ban on, all nuclear testing as soon as possible. A breakthrough in this field was achieved only during last September's meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shutlz when it finally proved possible to reach an understanding on the start of full-scale talks between the USSR and the United States. The understanding has clearly formulated their ultimate aim—a complete end to nuclear testing.

The just-opened round is a preparatory one. It is to settle organizaitonal issue: the venue of the talks, the working groups to be set up within their frameworks, procedures, and time-frames for the following rounds. It has already been agreed to hammer out as soon as possible, desirably in the first half of 1988, effective verification arrangements that will make it possible to ratify the 1974 and 1976 "threhold" treaties on underground explosions. Without delay, without waiting for these treaties to be ratified, the sides ought to begin working out further restrictions on nuclear tests—their yields and quotas.

Question: It follows from a recent statement by President Reagan that the United States is not going to agree to a ban on nuclear testing as long as it has to rely on nuclear weapons to ensure its security. Besides, the renunciation of nuclear weapons is linked by the President with the realization of his "Strategic Defense Initiative". What can you say on this score?

Answer: We know this U.S. view. The American side has tried for a fairly long time to get it reflected in the joint statement on the start of the full-scale talks. As is seen from the latter's text, the United States has not been able to do this: the joint statement does not link the aim of a complete end to nuclear testing in any way with the elimination of nuclear weaapons, let alone with the realization of SDI.

The statement defines a complete end to nuclear testing as an independent objective, as part of an effective disarmament process. The Soviet Union intends firmly to abide by this understanding and believes that any attempts to re-interpret the coherent text of the joint statement post-factum will do nothing good towards the success of the talks. We urge the United States to concentrate efforts precisely on fulfilling the practical tasks of the talks. Their progress, in which both the USSR and the United States have officially declared an interest, will depend on this.

Chernyshev on NATO Response

LD120221 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] [Presenter] While the preparation of the agreed text of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the global elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles is being

completed at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva, reports have lately appeared in the Western press that NATO is drawing up plans to compensate for those weapons that will be destroyed in connection with this treaty. I am asking a specialist in this field, TASS military observer Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernyshev to tell us about this in more detail. So, Vladimir Nikolayevich, what can you tell us about these plans?

[Chernyshev] Unfortunately, while the work is being completed on the first treaty on the elimination of a whole class of nuclear weapons, certain circles in NATO are preparing dangerous surprises for Europe, are seeking loopholes to get around the clauses of the coming agreement, and are trying to work out beforehand such measures as would bring it to naught. The elimination of even part of the nuclear weapons on the European Continent does not suit these circles. They are frightened that the obsolete strategy of nuclear deterrence will be weakened, demanding that the nuclear weapons destined to be scrapped according to the coming agreement be replaced by, as they say, a system with a similar effect of restraint. West German General Altenburg, chairman of the NATO Military Committee, spoke about this more frankly a few days ago. He expressed obvious regret that the elimination of U.S. missiles would deprive the bloc of the possibility of making strikes from Europe at regions deep inside Soviet territory, as a result of which NATO is losing part of its most reliable and vital range of armaments intended to escalate military action. The plans for the modernization of the remaining nuclear weapons and the deployment of new ones in Europe are also aimed at the restoration of this range. At the autumn session of that same nuclear planning group that has just ended at Monterey, California, Weinberger who is resigning, advocated the strengthening and modernization of the nuclear weapons deployed in Western Europe, which do not come under the terms of the agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. UK Defense Secretary Younger announced a few days ago that NATO's next step would be to carry out new planning of Western Europe's nuclear defense in such a way as to fill the gaps which are purportedly being formed in connection with the elimination of the U.S. medium range-missiles. Approving in words the future treaty on medium-range and operational-tactical missiles, figures like him, to be blunt about it, put a brave face on a sorry business. Any zero option needs something to replace it, upgrading of arms, something to compensate for it. This is the credo of those in support of retaining nuclear weapons on both sides of the Atlantic. I like the way that the London newspaper *Financial Times* defined these figures. It writes that like the god of the ancient Romans, Janus, the Western strategists involved in nuclear weapons are two-faced. They are prepared to eliminate the ground-based cruise missiles and the Pershing missiles only so that they can immediately set about modernizing an assortment of shorter-range weapons which it will be possible to launch from the skies above and the seas surrounding Europe.

[Presenter] Well, so that it is clear to our listeners what they are planning to implement, what the plans are, would you tell us about them in greater detail, precisely about those plans for upgrading arms or as, they put it now, for compensation.

[Chernyshev] The plan for upgrading arms has been worked out by a highly placed group of experts from NATO and was presented at the session in Monterey.

Details of it have leakedout in the Western press. This plan envisages the siting on the continent of a large number of nuclear devices more effective than those here at present — combat aircraft tactical missiles, and cruise missiles of various types. Firstly, its is envisaged to site additional squadrons of F-111 aircraft at NATO bases in Western Europe so that they can reach targets in Eastern Europe and the USSR. At the present time there are 162 aircraft of this type on the continent, and they are all sited on the territory of Great Britain. NATO experts propose transferring from the other side of the ocean another 336 F-111 aircraft and equipping them with the very latest electronic devices to create interference for air defense radar stations. It is also proposed that nuclear missiles be developed with which these aircraft may be able to strike at targets in Eastern Europe while being situated within West European air space. Secondly, much importance is attributed to ensuring the constant presence of U.S. submarines and surface ships equipped with sea-based cruise missiles in the areas around Europe. It is also proposed that sea-based cruise missiles be deployed directly under the control of the supreme commander-in-chief of the united armed forces of NATO in Europe. Thirdly, the possibility is being examined of siting in some West European NATO countries medium-range FB-111A bombers with nuclear weapons on board. It is proposed that the F-4 fighter bombers based on the European Continent be equipped with shorter-range cruise missiles. A variant is also being examined whereby the number of F-15 and F-16 aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons would be increased in Western Europe.

[Presenter] As we can see, the so-called assortment, if we can call it that, is extremely wide, and it can be said that instead of a real reduction in the level of nuclear confrontation in Europe, a wide-scale unilateral upgrading of arms on the part of NATO is proposed. In this connection, I would like to ask the following question: How are people reacting in the NATO countries — I have in mind both the leading circles in some of these countries as well as the public of the NATO states — to all these plans and proposals?

[Chernyshev] At the session of the Nuclear Planning Group in Monterey, no specific decisions of nay kind regarding questions of upgrading arms were adopted. A number of those attending the session, in particular the representatives of the Scandinavian countries and Spain, spoke out against the plans put forward. As the Western press reported, anxiety about the plans to step up the

nuclear arms race is also expressed by the governments of the Netherlands and Greece. However, as UK Defense Secretary Younger has just announced, the decisive talks regarding this question will take place at the next meeting of the NATO defense ministers within the framework of the Nuclear Planning Group, which will be held next spring in Copenhagen. The London *Observer* quite justly points out that the compensation measures are more likely to give rise to objections among the public in Western Europe since it is not to be excluded that NATO will, in the final count, have at its disposal a greater quantity of nuclear weapons than it would have had if the agreement on medium-range and operational-tactical weapons had not been achieved. The public may assess these measures as a step devaluing the treaty that is being prepared, *The New York Times* has stressed.

It is obviously by no means an accident that these secret NATO plans are at the present time being revealed in the guise of press leaks. They are, so to speak, test balloons in influencing public opinion in the NATO countries which the NATO leadership and the leaderships of certain NATO countries have begun to engage in. However, the Western European press is already giving a clear-cut definition of all these compensatory measures, assessing them as a cheating maneuver and as a subterfuge aimed at deceiving the Soviets.

[Presenter] Well, I do not think one can do anything but agree with such assessments. Thank you, Vladimir Nikolayevich.

Moscow Lambasts NATO Measures

LD111045 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Andrey Ptashnikov]

[Text] Plans for the so-called compensatory measures are being worked out in NATO circles on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of medium and shorter-range missiles, currently being prepared for signing.

Acquainting yourself with reports on this subject, willy nilly you ask yourself three questions. What is it that is to be compensated, with what, and what for?

Well, let us take them one by one. As is known, a treaty between the USSR and the United States is almost ready. It provides for the immediate elimination of two types of nuclear missiles: medium-range and operational - tactical missiles. And, even though they do not account for an excessively large proportion of the nuclear arsenals of both countries, their elimination nonetheless represents the first and, undoubtedly, a very important step on the road to disarmament. After all, you must begin with something.

This conclusion, it would seem, is natural and cannot give rise to objections. But, no such luck! As can be seen, the NATO strategists think differently. It is their view that to remain bereft of the medium- and shorter-range missiles is tantamount to emasculating the bloc's defenses and to creating undefended areas within it.

The conclusion is not long in coming: No way must it be allowed to happen. Hence, it is essential to replace the missiles that are to be eliminated, according to the treaty, with other weapons types and systems.

As Weinberger, the U.S. defense secretary who is about to retire, has recently said: We must retain our military strength even after the agreement has been concluded.

By way of compensation, it is proposed, in particular, that a further few hundred of the U.S. F-111 fighter-bombers, capable of carrying nuclear arms, should be transferred to Europe. The possibility that a certain number of cruise missiles, with which the U.S. surface-borne and submarine fleet is equipped, be put at the disposal of NATO command, is also being considered.

We have thus approached an answer to the third question that has been asked: What is all this needed for? After all, the implementation of compensatory measures of this kind is clearly intended to wreck the process — only in its inception now — of ridding the planet of nuclear arms.

But so much effort and time were spent to get things moving at long last. What then? Is all this of no use, in vain? Unfortunately, events show that military circles in some NATO countries have a great desire precisely for this to be the case. It is apparent that they intend to act according to the principle that elimination necessarily requires compensation. This is something that derives from their old doctrine that in order to disarm you must first bring your arms nicely to strength.

'Deep Anxiety' Over U.S. Binary Weapons

LD112246 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Vladimir Pasko Commentary]

[Text] The Green Party in the West German Bundestag demands that the FRG government should offically announce its position on the issue of binary weapons. The Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva, the faction's statement points out, provide every chance to avoid the supply of this weapon to Europe and to proceed to destroy chemical weapons. Here is our commentator, Vladimir Pasko.

[Pasko] The statement by the Greens reflects the deep anxiety among West Europeans over the possible appearance of U.S. binary weapons, this new type of chemical weapon and weapon of mass destruction, in their countries.

At the time when the idea of binary weapons matured within the U.S. military-industrial complex, the question arose for the U.S. government of how to justify it. The thesis appeared that the weapons are necessary for the European allies as a deterrent against the USSR. When it came to production the legislative arm did not want an argument with their voters. The government was told that money for binary weapons would only be given if the West Europeans would agree to store them in their countries. However, the allies showed no such desire. Only at the May session of NATO last year did the United States extract agreement from them for the deployment of binary shells, and in a crisis. The formulation for this is extremely vague; in fact, how do you define a crisis? Nevertheless the administration got the dollars it asked for from Congress. Recently on 17 October the White House officially informed the legislative arm, and thus the whole world, that the United States is beginning to produce binary artillery shells.

This, to all appearances, again drew the attention of the West German Greens, to the question of where the U.S. binary ammunition will be kept.

All this clearly shows the real way that U.S. military programs are adopted, the real attitude of the authorities to the opinion of their own people and the populations of allied countries, and why and for whom anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns are needed. There is an unbroken chain of lies and political machinations on behalf of the financial interests of military producers.

However, I should like to draw your attention especially to that side of the question highlighted in the statement of the West German Greens. In truth, the Soviet-U.S. talks on disarmament in Geneva, as their statement points out, provide every chance to prevent the delivery of the new U.S. chemical weapons to Europe and to proceed to destroy chemical weapons. The series of steps undertaken by the Soviet Union over the last 1.5 years have significantly speeded up, as is generally admitted, progress toward concluding an international convention on the general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons. However, diplomats note with concern that the closer the conclusion of the talks come, the more obstacles appear, attempts to slow them down, to deaprt from a comprehensive prohibition on chemical weapons. Talk arises not about prohibition, but about controlling these weapons, about adopting particl measures.

To all appearances these maneuvers also originate in the U.S. military sphere. In any case the anxiety shown by West Europeans is justified, for essentially we are discussing whether they will continue to be the nuclear and chemical hostages of the United States or whether there will finally be an end to this burdonsome situation.

Bessmertnykh Reviews Arms Accord Issues
LD121348 Moscow TASS in English 1312 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—Two concepts of the new summit were actually met but did not coincide during the recent Moscow meeting between the heads of the foreign offices of the USSR and the USA, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR deputy foreign minister, said in an interview with the weekly *Novoye Vremya* (English edition *New Times*). The concept suggested by Mikhail Gorbachev in a conversation with George Shultz back in April boiled down to the following: to complete the work on a treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and to lay grounds for a future agreement on strategic offensive arms. The concept with which Shultz and Carlucci arrived in Moscow, included the signing of a treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It left on side-tracks the question of a 50-per-cent cut in offensive strategic arms, agreement on which was reached in Reykjavik.

Later in Washington, agreement was reached as a result of the negotiations on the basis of Mikhail Gorbachev's personal message that during the future summit the sides would concentrate on issues of a 50-per-cent cut in strategic offensive arms. The sides will thoroughly examine the question of not abandoning the ABM treaty (they will renounce their right to abandon it for a definite agreed period of time) and on observing this treaty in future. If we agree on not abandoning the treaty for a definite period, it will guarantee us stability, on tht basis of which we can carry out a 50-per-cent cut in strategic offensive arms. In the West many people switch over the talk on guarantees through strengthening the ABM treaty to another plane: Do we agree with the SDI. The deputy minister pointed out that the SDI, if work started on establishing it, it would contradict the ABM treaty.

A treaty on a 50-per-cent cut in strategic offensive arms is possible. It stands to reason that the issue connected with the structure of strategic triads, should be resolved. For a diplomatic solution of this issue we offered Americans figure brackets for each element of the triad to determine combinations of warheads acceptable for each side. There will be one level for the USSR and the USA—6,000 warheads.

The question of limiting sea-based cruise missiles, which are not included in 6,000 warheads, is a quite inevitable and necessary aspect of any treaty on strategic offensive arms. The sides agreed in Reykjavik in principle that, along with a 50-per-cent cut in strategic offensive arms, sea-based cruises will also be limited. Now the point in question is their mandatory limitation which will go together with a 50-per-cent cut, said Aleksandr Bessmertnykh.

Gerasimov Denies USSR Marines on Seychelles

LD111653 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1543 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov (TASS)—A TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

The assertion by the London weekly *Sunday Times* testifies to its boundless fantasy and zeal in putting about the myth of a "growing Soviet influence" in this or that region of the hemisphere, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, maintains. At the request of a TASS diplomatic correspondent he commented upon the report by the weekly, which, referring to U.S. intelligence data, asserted that, supposedly, since October 1986, 50 Soviet marines have been on the Seychelles Islands. They are supposedly protecting the president of the Republic of Seychelles, France Albert Rene.

The reason for the latest fiction on this account was obviously the normal business entry into the Seychelles Islands of a Soviet landing vessel, the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry stressed. A group of seamen from this ship conducted an excursion around the capital of the Republic, an excursion that was conducted along conventional tourist routes. They were also near the presidential palace. Obviously the *Sunday Times* or U.S. intelligence organs, to which the weekly alludes, in pursuit of a latest sensation, preferred not to notice the return of the Soviet seamen aboard their vessel, but the seamen did return.

G. Gerasimov noted: One can add that visits to the Seychelles Islands are also regularly carried out by warships of many other countires. However, in those cases the Western press for some reason does not find anything out of the orinary in the trips to shore of members of their crews.

Petrovskiy Discusses UNGA Issues With Press

Says U.S. Out of Step

LD111234 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

"The aspiration of countries to resolve contentious issues politically becomes increasingly manifest at the 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly", Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, has said in an interview with the TASS diplomatic correspondent.

"The tendency had manifested itself before the session opened. One can safely say that it is characteristic of the activities of the international community as a whole. The international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development, which ended in September and in which all U.N. member nations took part, was significant in this respect. The participants in the conference succeeded in arriving at a common point of view on key issues of our time."

"However, the circumstance that one of the countries, a Security Council permanent member at that,—the United States—practically sabotages the international community's opinion cannot but give rise to concern", the deputy foreign minister pointed out.

"The U.S. conduct in the international arena resembles at times that of a soldier who maintains that he marches properly while the entire company is out of step with him".

"The United States was the only country which did not participate in the conference on the relationship between disarmament and development. The USA withdrew from UNESCO, and hinders the activities of a number of international organisations by delaying the payment of its financial contributions, for example, to the International Atomic Energy Agency".

"This time, too, when an overwhelming majority of U.N. member nations declare for a dialogue on the problem of a comprehensive system of peace and international security, the United States opposes it".

"Meanwhile the Soviet side holds that in the present conditions there is no alternative to an international dialogue and to a joint search for solutions to arising problems. Dialogue is the categorical imperative of our time. Attempts at avoiding it are a manifestation of the old egocentric thinking".

"The Soviet Union expects", Vladimir Petrovskiy emphasized, "that the awareness of the need for a dialogue will ultimately prevail in the policy of the U.S. ruling circles as well".

U.S. Obstacles to Convention

LD101254 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—A TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

The problem of banning chemical weapons has been thoroughly discussed by Soviet Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz in the course of their meetings in Washington and Moscow and the Soviet side there has taken extra steps towards the U.S. position, in particular in matters stressed as especially significant by the American side, Vladimir Petrovskiy, a deputy foreign minister of the USSR, told a news conference here today.

Meeting with Soviet and foreign correspondents at his ministry's press center, he briefed them on the specific steps taken by the USSR in a desire to quicken work to finalize the convention.

The U.S. side at its time suggested that the Soviet Union and the United States exchange data on their chemical weapons and facilities for their production even before signing the convention. In response the Soviet delegation at the meeting in Washington proposed making the first part of the exchanges as early as at the concluding phase of the talks and telling each other about the size of existing stocks of chemical weapons as well as the number of locations of chemical weapons production and storage facilities. The Soviet side, Petrovskiy said further, suggested carrying out the second part of the exchanges—swapping more detailed information—also before concluding the convention. Besides, at that stage each side would have the right to make on-site inspections at three declared facilities of its choice as well as challenge spot checks at any three not declared locations if they have aroused suspicion.

The Soviet side suggested to the United States that the practice of exchanging visits to military facilities connected with chemical weapons be carried further. Besides, the Soviet Union, going towards the U.S. position, made fresh proposals for the convention to cover toxin weapons and for measures to be adopted to prevent the proliferation of chemical weapons and to ensure equal security for all nations in the process of destruction of chemical weapons.

Petrovskiy noted with satisfaction the constructive nature of the discussions both in Washington and in Moscow. It was with content that he spoke also of the latest round of Soviet-American consultations on the issue of last September. He remarked, however, that the closer the completion of the talks, the more obstacles are being thrown up and attempts made to procrastinate the negotiations and shun a comprehensive ban on chemical warfare agents.

One is especially concerned over talking in some diplomatic circles about not prohibiting chemical weapons, but regulating them and adopting only partial measures. All indications are that the explanation for this diplomatic maneuvering, Petrovskiy said, lies in the military sphere in which the United States, far from preparing to destroy chemical weapons, is, on the contrary, embarking on a program for producing another deadly variety of such munitions — binaries.

U.S., France Oppose Dialogue

LD101426 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—The dialogue on issues pertaining to a comprehensive system of international security has been launched rather vigorously at the United Nations now, Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, told a press conference here today.

This dialogue is under way at the sessions of all the seven main U.N. General Assembly committees and herein its distinguishing feature. [sentence as received] Each of the committees addresses various aspects of an all-embracing security system—military, political, economic, ecological and humanitarian.

The roots of things new are already visible at the 42nd U.N. General Assembly session. They are epitomized in the attempts to find mutually acceptable ways orientated at a political solution of problems in such a field as disarmament. For instance, attempts are being made in the first political committee to find a common approach to the issue of bringing the work on drafting a convention on banning chemical weapons to fruition within the shortest possible time, of the common approach to confidence-building measures, to the issues of openness and verification. A concept of social justice is under development by joint effort at the Third Committee. Constructive work is in progress also in the Second Economic Committee.

At the same time, elements arousing concern are likewise observed during the debates at the United Nations—there are countries which oppose dialogue. And this is disqueting. In this case, the point at issue is the United States. It is actually the United States and France and them alone which oppose the dialogue.

Vladimir Petrovskiy cited a concrete example: At the 42nd U.N. Genral Assembly session the overwhelming majority of the world community demand an immediate conclusion of a convention on banning chemical weapons. This is impeded by the United States which gets down to the deployment of binary weapons—a programme that poses a serious threat to the solution of the problem of chemical weapons destruction on a global scale. So, the United States and some other countries, which act in unison with it, oppose themselves to the entire world community, Vladimir Petrovskiy stressed.

'Surprised' at French CW Stand

LD101535 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—"At the current stage of work on the convention on eliminating chemical weapons, we cannot but be surprised by the position of some parties to the talks at Geneva, including France," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy said here today.

The French proposals for a so-called safety margin, made last summer, he told a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists, contradicted the goals of the would-be convention as they provided for a possibility to produce chemical weapons following the convention's entry into force.

Petrovskiy recalled that all parties to the talks, including NATO member countries, assured world public opinion at the latest, June session of their determination to reach in the near future an agreement on a comprehensive, global and verifiable convention envisaging total elimination of the existing arsenals and prevention of the further production of chemical weapons.

"It is high time to translate words into practical positions at the talks," said the deputy foreign minister. We expect that the talks in Geneva, slated for November-December, will bring result and make it possible to complete work on the convention prohibiting chemical weapons in 1988.

The Soviet Union, for its part, is prepared to do everything possible to achieve that."

Talks 'Internationalize' Policy

AU101247 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 9 Nov 87 p 6

[Interview with Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy ministerof foreign affairs, by Edgar Cheporov, "*Novosti* correspondent," in New York, date not given]

[Text] New York, especially dispatched to *Otechestven Front*.

The general political discussion at the UN General Assembly has ended. The Soviet concept of a comprehensive system of international security, proposed in Mikhail Gorbachev's article "Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World," focused the attention of the world public.

The *Novosti* correspondent approached Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and asked him to evaluate the discussion.

[Cheporov] What are the characteristics of the present UN discussion?

[Petrovskiy] The discussion is characterized by a generally constructive attitude toward solving international problems. The absolute majority of the delegations supported the timely solving of the key issues of our times, and stressed the necessity of advancing from confrontation to political realism. This tendency was prompted by the understanding that the recently reached Washington agreements between the USSR and the United States reveal real prospects of constructing a nuclear-free world. The delegates' statements show that this important step is met with support.

Until now there has never been such a significant and new phenomenon — the decision to eliminate two classes of nuclear weapons. It was characteristic that the talks in the lobby about the necessity of a "nuclear timeout" and along the line of "now we must stop, look around, and think things over," evoked an energetic and critical reaction on the part of the absolute majority of the delegates. Everybody pointed out that the cause of disarmament requires an immediate continuation in the area of the strategic weapons, observing ABM, and so forth. It was a remarkable fact that these demands resounded more decisively than ever before at the First Committee, which deals with these issues. I would like to note that what was achieved in Washington gives an impulse to the attempts to reach progress in all areas of international relations.

[Cheporov] How do you evaluate the delegations' attitude toward the ideas raised in Mikhail Gorbachev's article?

[Petrovskiy] The reaction to these ideas was uniformly positive. People are now seeing that these ideas are not utopian and that they can be turned into real deeds. Reykjavik was the starting point for concrete deeds.

When we speak about the UN reaction to the Soviet leader's article I would also like to point out the following: It has been noted here that the new political thinking is characterized by a new style.

[Cheporov] The UN discussion showed that the idea of a comprehensive system of international security raised by the USSR, was evaluated as extremely topical. Why?

[Petrovskiy] This is because, first of all, the idea corresponds with the states' notion of the world in which we live. We all are living in separate, or rather "national" apartments, in a common planet-house, and understand that this house is threatened by common threats, mainly the nuclear one. To avoid these threats we need security as much as the air we breathe. Furthermore, we need security not only at the traditional "chess boards" — the military and political ones — but also security in the economic, ecological, and humanitarian areas.

Another Soviet concept, the one about guaranteed security applying not only to the superpowers, also received due recognition. This is the vital cause of all countries and nations.

The new political thinking, which now characterizes Soviet foreign policy, envisages the active participation of the UN in solving international problems and strengthening its role in international relations. Therefore, our appeal to internationalize the efforts of strengthening peace met with the warmest support at the UN.

The UN discussion also impressed me with the fact that it demonstrated the tendency to internationalize the policy of various states. They all—big and small, socialist, capitalist, and developing—admitted that they must come to an international forum, to the UN, if they want to solve their problems. Their problems will be collectively solved there.

[Cheporov] How does the U.S. position look against this background?

[Petrovskiy] It seems that as before the United States remains the only state which openly and demonstratively pursues its narrow selfish goals. After leaving UNESCO the United States also stopped participating in the international conference on the mutual relation between disarmament and deployment. Here at the United Nations the United States is the only state which allows itself to preach to the entire world—what "behavior" is to be assumed by somebody, and what policy is to be conducted. This position was sharply condemned by the world public. This is a paradox! Washington maintains that "openness [otkritost] is needed." However, everyone knows that this is impossible without a dialogue. However, it is precisely the dialogue that Washington is rejecting. Thus, the U.S. delegates demonstratively left the hall while the Nicaraguan leader presented his position on the events in Central America. What dialogue is this? The world relinquished Palmerston's principle of the "balance of power." In its place there is now "the balance of interests." This is the new and really modern international concept.

Discusses CW Problems

PM111411 KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Nov 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS Report entitled "News Conference in Moscow"]

[Text]The situation regarding the conclusion of the convention on banning and destroying chemical weapons was the theme of a news conference held at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center 10 November.

Soviet and foreign journalists were addressed by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy. A responsible stage in Soviet-U.S. relations is beginning, he said. Preparations for M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States have been moved to a practical level. The entire spectrum of issues pertaining to relations between the USSR and the United States will be considered during the summit meeting, including cuts in armaments, and a treaty will be signed on the complete elimination of Soviet and American medium-range and shorter-range missiles, thereby opening up opportunities for real disarmament.

The Soviet Union is firmly in favor of the process of disarmament constantly developing and, as specified in the programmatic Statement of 15 January 1986, enabling mankind to be rid of all kinds of weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. Here we have to consider the timetable for the work of the talks on disarmament in all its aspects, and the paramount tasks in this sphere after the treaty on medium-range and shorter-range missiles has been signed. In our view, along with the earliest possible solution to the problems of a 50% reduction in strategic offensive weapons and preserving the ABM Treaty, a priority place in this schedule should be allotted to a total ban on and the destruction of chemical weapons, under rigorous international control. Multilateral talks on banning chemical weapons resume in Geneva at the end of November, and a new round of Soviet-U.S. bilateral consultations is planned for December. The session of the disarmament conference that closed in August was marked by a palpable spurt forward that closed in August was marked by a palpable spurt forward on the way to concluding a convention on banning chemical weapons. Virtually all key issues, including verification, have been solved in principle. The Soviet contribution to these solutions is known. It now remains only to to work through the technical details. The USSR has systematically stepped up its efforts aimed at accelerating the completion of work on this convention.

The problem of banning chemical weapons was the subject of attentive discussion during the meetings USSR Foreign Minister Comrade Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz in Washington and Moscow. The Soviet side took additional steps toward the U.S. position, including on those issues accorded particular importance by the U.S. side. This concerns primarily the U.S. proposal that, even before the convention is signed, the USSR and United States exchange data on their chemical weapons and production facilities. In Washington we proposed implementing the first phase of this exchange as early as at the concluding stage of the talks, and giving each other data on the size of existing stocks, and the number and locations of facilities for the production and storage of chemical weapons. We also proposed that, before signing the convention, we should implement the second phase, providing even more detailed information. Moreover, at that second stage, each side would have the right to make on-site inspections at three declared facilities of its choice, as well as to verify by request any three undeclared locations, should they give rise to suspicion.

We suggested to the U.S. side that the practice of exchanging visits to military installations connected with chemical weapons be developed.

We confirmed our invitation to visit the chemical weapons destruction facility under construction in the Chapayevsk region once it is built, which we plan for 1988. We expressed readiness to invite U.S. experts on a bilateral arrangement to Shikhany, of course, if we are given the opportunity to visit the U.S. facility in Dugway. Moreover, we made fresh proposals, going toward the U.S. position, about the convention encompassing toxic weapons, about measures to prevent the proliferation of chemical weapons (here we proposed reaching agreement on the nontransfer to anyone of chemical weapons or the technology, including technical documentation, for its production), and about certain aspects of the convention's entry into force and the ensuring of equal security for all states during the chemical weapons destruction process.

It would seem that the talks on banning chemical weapons are moving to completion at a rapid rate. But what is happening? The closer the finish, the more obstacles and attempts are made to prolong the talks and to avoid an allembracing ban on chemical means of destrcution. In diplomatic circles people are now starting to talk about regulating chemical weapons, not prohibiting them, about partial measures, not a global solution of the problem. This was bluntly stated by the U.S. representative at the UN General Assembly's First (Political) Committee.

Perhaps the reason is verification, which until quite recently the United States presented as the main problem from the standpoint of a convention? But this question has now been resolved, and resolved in the most rigorous fashion. To judge by all accounts, the answer for this diplomatic maneuvering lies in the military sphere. Here, the United States is not only not preparing to destroy chemical weapons, but is embarking upon a program for the production of a new deadly variety—binary weapons. Leaving aside the militarist nature of this program, its political impact on the talks is unambiguously negative. In its pursuit of binary means of destruction the United States is not only hampering the conclusion of the convention, it is also setting a bad example to countries which do not presently possess chemical weapons and pushing the process of their proliferation.

The legitimate question arises: How do all these actions in both the diplomatic and military spheres accord with the official statements of the United States' desire for an effective and global ban on chemical weapons?

At the current, responsible stage of work on the convention on eliminating chemical weapons we cannot fail to be surprised by the position of certain other parties to the talks in Geneva, specifically France. The proposals made by France in the summer of this year for a so-called safety margin run counter to the goals of the convention banning chemical weapons that is being elaborated, in as much as they provide for the possibility of producing chemical weapons after the convention has come into force.

I would like to recall that all parties to the talks, including NATO members, gave assurances to world public opinion at the recent June session of their determination to reach accord in the nearest possible future on a comprehensive, global, and effectively verifiable convention envisaging the complete destruction of existing arsenals and preventing further production of chemical weapons. The time has now come, he stressed, to pay one's political bills and to translate statements into practical positions at the talks. We expect the talks in November and December in Geneva to be productive and to make it possible to complete work on the convention prohibiting chemical weapons next year, in 1988.

The Soviet Union, for its part, is prepared to do everything it can for the conve[illegible]ion to become reality next year.

[Moscow Television in Russian on 10 November in its 1925 GMT broadcast also reported on this news conference; in addition to the above statement by Petrovskiy they also carried the following recorded session with Petrovskiy, Viktor Pavlovich Karpov,head of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry Arms Limitation and Disarmament Directorate; Colonel-General Vladimir Karpovich Pikalov, head of chemical troops at the USSR Defense Ministry, answering journalists questions.

[(Gurkov) from the *Moskovskiye Novosti* daily. After the visit to Shikhany, one could read in the Western press that it was something like a visit to a museum; that the USSR put obsolete chemical weapons on show. The sincerity of our policy of openness in the military area and of our policy of glasnost in general was put in doubt in this connection. It was said that what had been shown are obsolete examples and that the USSR has more up to date weapons. What can you say on this score?

[Pikalov: In Shikhany we showed real examples of chemical ammunition [Boyepripasy] with which the Soviet Armed Forces are currently issued. They were designed both in the fifties and in the eighties. No other ammunition is in the USSR.

[If these specimens appeared to some to be insufficiently modern, this only undermines their own thesis that the USSR has in recent years been carrying out a stepped up program of chemical armaments. I want to stress that we have a moral right to speak of the Shikhany show as the first — not museum piece — but a real arsenal of chemical weapons at the USSR's disposal. Moreover, we remember and appraise posittively the U.S.-held show in Thule. In all, four speciments were shown, and these do not characterize the entire arsenal of chemical weapons as a whole.

[(Pravov) from APN. What are, in your view, the main obstacles to concluding the convention?

[Karpov: Following a series of initiatives, embarked on by the USSR, practically everything at the Geneva conference now makes it possible to go for concluding the convention and to work out its final text no later than the spring next year. However, there is another aspect to this issue, namely, the political will of the main participants in the talks.

[Apparently the main reason is precisely this: that this political will has recently begun to get smaller and smaller as far as certain participants of the talks are concerned, the United States among them, it must be said. Even such thoughts that maybe it is, for the time

being, not worth it to conclude an all-embracing convention, and that maybe some partial measures that do not go too far should be given a try, began to be bandied about.

[There is also another aspect to this issue: namely the talks about and programs to further improve the chemical potentials. This, undoubtedly, also has negative consequences on the Talks and certainly is not conducive to progress at the talks, representing an objective brake as far as the solution of the questions of banning chemical weapons and eliminating their stockpiles is concerned.

[(Unidentified voice in English with Russian translation) A question from ABC. In one of the articles published after the trip to Shikhany, it was said that approximately 30,000 tonnes of chemical warheads are stockpiled in the United States, while some 300,000 tonnes of them are stockpiled in the USSR. Could General Pikalov confirm that these figures are correct?

[Pikalov: A question like that has already been asked. These are hypothetical, far-fetched figures. In our appraisal we have parity with the United States. Those who name such figures thoughtlessly fan up some sort of unnecessary hullaballoo around the USSR. There are set norms for carrier aircraft, mobile systems, missile systems. We know, in particular, how many such systems the United States has and we know how many we have.

[(Ostrovskiy) from the *Novosti* press agency. I have the following question: The United States alleges that it ended the development of chemical weapons in 1969. In the meantime, the question of using chemical weapons has never been removed from the doctrine guidelines of either the Pentagon or NATO. The program of development of binary weapons confirms that they are not departing from this position. Well, what does this mean — after all, they reached a surplus quantity of this ammunition (boyepripasy) in 1969.

[Pikalov: A very correct and direct question. The United States in 1969 stopped the production, as they said, but not the development. The development of new types of arms continued.]

General Pikalov on Concluding CW Convention
LD101455 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—There are no objective obstacles to conclusion of a convention on a global chemical weapons ban. The main hindrance to it is lack of political will for its signing in top organs of legislative power of the United States and its Western allies, said today Colonel General Vladimir Pikalov, commander of chemical troops of the Defence Ministry of the USSR.

General Pikalov described as "far-fetched" the figures on huge stockpiles of Soviet chemical weapons, being spread in the West. "According to our estimates, there is parity between the USSR and USA in this area", he underlined. He declined to say how many chemical weapons the Soviet Union had, since the draft convention provides for making these data public only after it is signed. Requested by American journalists to comment on the United States' having 30,000 tons of toxic agents, Vladimir Pikalov said: "For me it is difficult to judge on that, since the United States did not disclose its real stockpiles". But added that he considered that figure "close to reality". "We hold that no state will start creating such stockpiles of toxic agents which cannot be practically realised in the course of combat actions". [sentence as received]

The commander of chemical troops of the USSR said that the United States had disclosed some stockpiles of chemical weapons on its territory, but kept silent on its other stockpiles, particularly in Western Europe. And the Soviet Union said that it does not have its chemical weapons on the territory of other countries. Thus, should soviet side now announce the location of the stockpiles on its territory, the United States will have at its disposal the full picture of the location of Soviet stockpiles, whereas the USSR will not be in the known about the U.S. chemical potential in Western Europe, which is most dangerous to tis security. Therefore we raise the question of mutual frankness in this field, General Pikalov underlined.

"At the Soviet military installation in Shikhaniy where Soviet chemical weapons were demonstrated to diplomats and military experts of 45 countries early in October, we showed real samples of weapons which are in the service at the Soviet Army. There are no other types of chemical weapons in the USSR, said General Pikalov. That was not a museum show, as some Western mass media said, but the first demonstration of the whole fleet of standard Soviet chemical weapons—a real arsenal that the Soviet Union is now in possession. If those weapons looked insufficiently contemporary to anybody, this only undermines their own thesis that the Soviet Union in the recent years carried out an enhanced programe of chemical armament".

Commander of chemical troops of the USSR underlined that the American programme of binary armaments can undoubtedly torpedo the signing of a convention on chemical weapons, since it will lead to proliferation of chemical weapons in the world. "Binary weapons are a serious destabilising factor, since these would be used above all for hitting strikes on operational structures on foreign territory, and cruise missiles would be the delivery vehicles," the general said.

UN Committee Adopts Disarmament Resolution

LD111226 Moscow TASS in English 0617 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 11 TASS—On a proposal by the U.N. Member nations — participants in the Non-aligned Movement, the first committee (political, security, including disarmament) of the United Nations General Assembly welcomed the agreement reached between the Soviet Union and the United States to conclude a treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, to make active efforts with a view to achieving a 50-per cent cut in the strategic offensive arms within thhe framework of the talks on nuclear and space weapons as well as to start full-scale talks on limiting and ultimately ending nuclear tests.

This evaluation is expressed in the draft resolution "on bilateral talks on nuclear arms" adopted by the first committee on Tuesday.

The document emphasizes that in the interests of the whole of mankind the Soviet Union and the United States within the framework of bilateral talks should continue efforts with the ultimate aim of achieving general and complete disarmament under effective control.

The delegates proceeded from the conviction that nowadays, in the nuclear age, it is a question of choice between life and death, and not between war and peace, and that in this connection to prevent nuclear war becomes the principal goal of our time.

They emphasized that international peace and security could be ensured only through general and complete disarmament under an effective international control. and that one of the most urgent tasks was to stop and reverse the arms race and to take concrete measures in the field of disarmament, particularly nuclear one.

The U.S. delegation at the head of a group of 13 Western countries abstained from voting.

UN Concludes Discussion of Afghan Question

USSR Votes Against Resolution

LD102036 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 10 TASS—The 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly today concluded discussing the question of the situation around Afghanistan.

The delegations of Western countries and Pakistan remained on positions of confrontation and prevented the adoption of amendments to Islamabad's draft resolution which would make it possible to approve it on the basis of consensus. As a result, the delegations of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as well as a number of nonaligned countries voted against the proposed resolution.

The discussion at the session showed that the countries which had opposed in the past a constructive solution of the problem now too did not want to reflect in the resolution the positive changes that are shaping up lately in solving the set of questions connected with the situation around Afghanistan, in particular the progress at the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva through the mediation of a personal envoy of the United Nations secretary General. Neither did these countries display intent to strictly observe the principle of non-interference in Afghanistan's affairs.

Discuss Failure of Resolutions

LD111632 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 11 TASS—TASS correspondent Sergey Baybakov reports:

The discussion of the Afghanistan situation has ended at the 42th session of the U.N. General Assembly. Remaining on positions of confrontation, delegations of Western countries and Pakistan prevented the adoption of amendments to the tabled draft resolution, which would have enabled to approve it on the basis of consensus. As a result, the delegations of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and a number of other socialist and nonaligned countries voted against the resolution.

The discussion at the session has shown that the states which in the past prevented a constructive solution of the problem, now, too, did not want to reflect in the resolution the positive changes which have recently become outlined in solution of a set of issues linked with the situation in Afghanistan, specifically progress at the Geneva negotiations with the mediation of a representative of the U.N. secretary general.

Those who insisted on adoption of a non-balanced resolution do not conceal their interest in continuation of the undeclared war against Afghanistan, said Shah Mohammed Dost, the permanent representative of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan at the United Nations, who took the floor before the vote. The actions of Pakistan and the delegations, backing it, have shown that they are not interested in genuine settlement of the Afghanistan situation, he said.

At a press-conference which was held after the vote, the USSR'S permanent representative at the United Nations Aleksandr Belonogov expressed regret that the efforts to settle the conflict, based on new political thinking and constructive approach, were foiled by

the forces which are not interested in peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan problem. We cannot but note that the countries involved in the undeclared war against Afghanistan are trying to bring confrontation here, to the United Nations Organization, he said. These countries are trying hard to prevent relaxation of tension around the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and to introduce additional difficulties to the question which has long been calling for a fair and comprehensive solution.

We firmly denounce such a line and consider it as yet another attempt to thwart the positive changes in the approach to settlement of the Afghan problem and to justify the continuing external interference in the internal affairs of that country, said the delegate of the USSR.

United States and Canada

Congress 'Seeking to Poison' Summit Efforts

PM121725 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 87 First Edition p 5

[Yuriy Zhukov's "Political Observer's Notes": "Against the Current"]

[Text] There are only 3 weeks left until the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting due to take place in Washington 7-9 December. The world public awaits it with interest, hoping that a treaty on elimination of medium-range and operational-tactical missiles will be signed there and the way opened to further, highly substantial arms reductions. Public opinion polls show that the overwhelming majority of people everywhere, including the United States, welcome such a development of events as a manifestation of the new thinking in politics, and take a stand against confrontation, in favor of a transition to civilized norms of interstate relations.

Nonetheless, time and again certain political circles in the United States launch one noisy anti-Soviet campaign after another, evidently seeking to poison the political atmosphere just before the summit meeting and to raise doubts about the expediency of arms reduction accords.

Time and again they raise heartrending cries that "the Reds"—as they put it—are not to be trusted and should not be negotiated with. They advance projects to "replace" the missiles to be eliminated with new nuclear arms. Members of Congress are under intense pressure: They are being persuaded to vote against the ratification of a treaty which is yet to be concluded.

Noisy ultrareactionary figures in Congress itself have stepped up their activity: Not a day passes without the press reporting more and more new draft resolutions with blatantly provocative features—as if they were coming off a conveyor belt.

Pravda has already reported that Congressman G. Wortley submitted a draft resolution proposing that "in view of the fact that international communism established control over Russia on 7 November 1917," 7 November should be proclaimed... "Commemoration Day for the Victims of Communism."

Subsequently, fellow thinkers of this malicious anti-Sovietist compiled yet another sensational draft resolution containing a truly extraordinary demand: To call on the President "to direct all appropriate U.S. Government departments to monitor closely events which will occur (?!) in Riga 'in the next few days'" and, furthermore, to send there a U.S. Government representative who ought to "personally (!) observe events" there.

Of course, compilers of this provocative "call" would very much like to organize some sort of "events" on Soviet territory on the eve of the summit meeting—and the foreign radio voices, by the way, have not ceased their provocative activity in this direction. I fancy, however, that these advocates of primitive thinking must bear in mind that neither the "appropriate departments" of the United States nor even a "personal representative" of the U.S. Government would have the slightest chance to influence domestic life in the Soviet Union. It would be far better for them to deal with their own domestic problems, of which they have more than enough.

It is typical of the atmosphere now being whipped up in Congress that none of the members of the House of Representatives deemed it necessary to object to these absurd demands, and the provocative resolution was passed 9 November.

What is the meaning of this political gesture? Is it an attempt to create a scandal which would distract the public's attention from the most serious problems due to be discussed at the summit meeting? Is it a desire to throw yet another "banana skin" under the feet of the participants in this meeting and obstruct their work?

If the truth be told, one feels vicariously embarrassed for those members of Congress who, at such a crucial time, have embarked on such unseemly work in order to pander to the opponents of normalization of U.S.-Soviet relations!

Gerasimov on U.S.-Soviet Pre-Summit Contacts

LD101525 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—"Contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States are being invigorated at various levels in the run up to the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington beginning on December 7," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today.

"Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead is arriving in Moscow on November 14 for talks with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin on humanitarian issues.

A meeting between Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Michael Armacost will be held in Geneva on 17-18.

Besides, the heads of the delegation to Geneva, Vorontsov and Max Kampelman, are planning to meet on November 16 to discuss the entire range of issues related to nuclear and space arms."

Reagan To Meet With Afghan Rebel 'Ringleader'
PM101557 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Ostalskiy "Rejoinder": "Who Are They Expecting To See?"]

[Text] The White House has announced that U.S. President R. Reagan and U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz will meet this week with an Afghan counterrevolutionaries' delegation headed by M. Khales [name as transliterated], chairman of the Islamic Alliance of Afghan Holy Warriors.

Even major statesmen or politicians by no means always manage to get an audience with the head of the American state. So why is the ringleader of a by no means "top-flight" counterrevolutionary grouping being given this single honor? Evidently, this political gesture is supposed to stress the exceptional attention the Washington administration is paying to links with the Afghan counterrevolutionaries and the desire to continue to give them all-around support in any circumstances.

In view of the obstructionist stance of the counterrevolutionary leaders, this support is effectively geared to wrecking national reconciliation and a peaceful settlement of a complex international problem.

As a matter of fact, there is nothing new in this course of interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs. The only surprising aspect is the timing of such political acts as the U.S. president's ostentatious reception of a counterrevolutionary leader. Is this the way the administration prepares for a Soviet-American summit? Or strengthens the climate of trust between the two states? An unusual method, to be frank.

SDI Not To Be Summit 'Topic of Negotiations'
LD101845 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Washington officials have been making regular statements that they will not allow the Strategic Defense Initiative, known by its popular name of "Star Wars," to become small change at the arms reduction talks. Here is what our commentator Yuriy Solton writes in this connection:

The SDI Program is an American brainchild. The Soviet Union is not going to have it a topic of negotiations. The idea is different. Strike weapons should not be extended to outer space since otherwise the very process of disarmament would be wrecked and the current military-strategic stability, shaky as it is, would turn into chaos. A reliable guarantee to maintain its stability is observance of the Soviet-American antiballistic missile treaty signed in 1972. The whole point of the treaty is to end the rivalry in creating ever more sophisticated systems of armaments opposed to one another and carrying highly dangerous, unpredictable consequences.

The most important pledge under the treaty is not to deploy national ABM systems in each of the two countries and not to create a foundation for such defenses. The two sides agreed to have only one are each for antiballistic missile systems, with a definite number of launching sites. [sentence as received] Article 5 of the treaty is of extreme importance. It says that the USSR and the USA shall not develop, test or deploy sea based, air based, space based or mobile land based ABM systems or their components.

The USSR offers at the Geneva talks that along with a 50% cut in strategic offensive armaments the two sides should fix down a pledge not to use for 10 years their right to withdraw from the ABM treaty and to observe it strictly. By the way, an accord to the effect was reached at the Soviet-American summit in Reykjavik a year ago. As for research work, including that on the SDI program, the Soviet Union believes parameters and characteristics can be established in this case for devices banned for deployment in space.

The United States offers to sign an accord that would actually mean that for 7 years work might be done on a full scale ABM system and that afterwards strike systems can be deployed in space. That is the essence of the Soviet-American differences and the main obstacle to reducing by one half the strategic nuclear arsenals.

U.S. Press Assessments of Carlucci Cited
LD112333 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1920 GMT 11 Nov 87

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Fesunenko]

[Excerpts] In connection with the appointment of Carlucci, President Reagan's former national security assistant, to the post of U.S. defense secretary, and him replacing Caspar Weinberger in the Pentagon leadership, the U.S. press is now publishing a great deal of material commenting on this reshuffle and on what the new defense secretary is like. Among this torrent of press reviews and commentaries, an article by *The New York Times* commentator Elion Savelino attracts attention. It reports that when President Reagan studied various possibilities of inflicting a retaliatory blow on Iran after it had attacked a Kuwaiti tanker last month which was flying the U.S. flag, Reagan adopted the option proposed by Frank Carlucci, his national security assistant. Other alternatives were also discussed. For example, the headquarters chief proposed that an Iranian frigate should be sunk.

Secretary of State George Shultz phoned from the Near East to say that he was in favor of attacking Iranian Silkworm missiles on the Fao peninsula. But Carlucci insisted on a more moderate, as *The New York Times* writes, option, which would give the administration more room for maneuver if it had been necessary for it to

inflict another retaliatory strike. It was precisely Carlucci who convinced the President to carry out the attack on two Iranian offshore oil rigs.

The fact that 57-year-old Carlucci got his own way, *The New York Times* writes, shows how much the President was relying on him from the time he took a senior foreign policy post in the White House.

In contrast to the resigning Casper Weinberger, who quarreled many times with legislators on major issues concerning the military sphere, Carlucci is attempting to maintain good relations with Capitol Hill. Recently the White House indicated that it will postpone its request for the allocation of $270 million aid for Nicaraguan rebels, after Carlucci, yet again, had reported to the President that leading Republican legislators had convinced him that the administration would be completely defeated if it opted for voting. [passage omitted]

Carlucci's diplomatic career was by no means cloudless or covered with roses. I remember very well, for example, that in the summer of 1975, at the peak of the revolution in Portugal, the progressive public of this country started quite a noisy and generally quite a justified campaign, while accusing Ambassador Carlucci of interfering in the internal affairs of this country and demanded his dismissal from the country.

He got into a still more complex situation in Congo at the beginning of the sixties. These were very difficult times for the country: Lumumba was killed as a result of a plot organized by the CIA and this aroused hatred and fury on the part of the Africans; Carlucci was then a staff member in the U.S. Embassy. He was stabbed, thrown off his feet, and subjected to other threats. For this, he was later given a bravery award by the State Department.

Summing up this analytical review devoted to Frank Carlucci, *The New York Times* observer concludes, I quote: It is expected that in the post of defense minister, Carlucci will not be as militant as his predecessor Caspar Weinberger, and it is unlikely that he will be expressing categorical views. He is much calmer, more realistic, and does not tend to be guided by ideological criteria as much as Weinberger, said a senior politican who was close to both.

This is precisely what we need today, God bless us. Well, let us hope that this slightly optimistic forecast will come true.

U.S. Votes Against Limiting Naval Armaments

LD110010 Moscow TASS in English 2355 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 11 TASS—The U.S. delegation voted alone against the draft resolution on naval armaments and disarmament in the field of naval weapons, which was adopted on Tuesday by the first committee of the U.N. General Assembly. The document was co-sponsored by a broad range of neutral, non-aligned countries and even France, a U.S. partner in the NATO bloc.

It proposes that the disarmament commission examine questions on determination of possible measures on cutting naval armaments and disarmament within the framework of progress towards general and complete disarmament and strengthening of confidence.

Organization of American States Assembles

Reagan Addresses Session

LD101631 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 10 TASS—President Reagan Monday spoke to participants in an annual session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS), which will focus on the problem of a peace settlement in Central America.

Although the U.S. President described as a "hopeful sign" the Nicaraguan Government's decision to take steps towards a ceasefire between the Sandinist People's Army and armed contra groups through Cardinal Obando y Bravo as the mediator, his remarks essentially reaffirmed the same old policy of seeking the removal of the Sandinist popular government.

Among other things, Reagan made the demand, which almost amounted to an ultimatum, that the Nicaraguan Government open direct talks with "freedom fighters", which is his way of calling gangs of former Somozist National Guards raised and funded by the C.I.A. that are continuing to commit bloody crimes against the Nicaraguan people every day.

According to data published in a report by the Democratic Party's Arms Control and Foreign Policy Commission, 46 of the 48 senior contra posts are filled by people who were National Guards under the Somoza dictatorship which was forced on Nicaragua by the United States and enjoyed unreserved backing from Washington for 46 years until being toppled by the victorious Sandinist popular revolution. More than 50,000 Nicaraguans fell in the struggle against the pro-American regime and for freedom and democracy.

The Nicaraguan Government is known to have flatly rejected the possibility of entering into political negotiations with contra chieftains or the United States that would touch on the issue of power.

But Nicaragua has meticulously complied with the Guatemala accords. A national reconciliation commission has been formed and political dialogue started with the opposition. The newspaper *La Prensa* and a Roman Catholic radio station have been re-opened and religious figures that were opposed to the revolution have been allowed to return to Nicaragua.

The National Assembly has enacted two new bills, one on an amnesty for those convicted of counter-revolutionary activities since 1981 and the other on lifting the state

of emergency. However, these laws will only take effect after armed aggression against Nicaragua is terminated, contra bases in Honduras are dismantled, military aid to mercenaries is cut off and the United States responds to a call from Central American nations for an end to foreign military presence in the region.

Ignoring these commonly known facts, Reagan claimed in his statement that Nicaragua was not honoring the Guatemala accords. He argued, for instance, that, although *La Prensa* had been allowed to operate, it was restricted in reporting military and economic news.

The U.S. President, however, must be aware that in wartime and under a state of emergency such restrictions are only normal. But it was a different matter when in peacetime the building housing *La Prensa*'s editorial offices and its printery were swept away by tanks of Somoza's National Guards, while the paper's director was villainously killed by those now called "freedom fighters" by the U.S. President.

Reagan effectively turned down Managua's proposal for resuming Nicaraguan-American talks for normalizing bilateral relations. "When serious negotiations between the Sandinistas and the freedom fighters under the mediation of Cardinal Obando are under way, Secretary Shultz will be ready to meet jointly with the foreign ministers of all five Central American nations, including the Sandinistas' representative," he said.

Observers point out in this connection that the Guatemala accords do not provide for any multilateral talks between the United States and Central American countries, whereas direct talks between Managua and Washington are seen by Latin Americans as an essential part of a Central American settlement.

Washington's latest maneuver is summed up by them as another attempt to disrupt the unity achieved by Central American nations in their approach to the problem of restoring peace to the region.

Shultz Speaks on Aid Deferment

LD110953 Moscow TASS in English 0923 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 11 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, speaking before the Organization of American States (OAS) General Assembly here on Tuesday, said that the administration would "seek no further military assistance for the resistance (Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries) until next year."

The delay is due to the fact that the Guatemala agreement, signed last August by the presidents of all Central American countries, has created a new political situation in the region, with diplomatic ways for solving the crisis becoming evident.

Shultz pointed out, however, that the White House was not going to "abandon" the contras with the help of which Washington is seeking to oust the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua.

The secretary of state preferred not to mention that in these conditions any request by the administration for more military assistance to the contras would almost certainly be turned down by Congress.

Speaking at congressional hearings a month ago, Shultz announced White House plans to seek 270 million dollars in aid to counter-revolutionary groups for a period of 18 months.

According to American officials, the request will be sent to the Capitol in January next year.

'Buildup of U.S. Interference' in Chad Noted

PM121153 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "United States: Stingers and Advisers Set Off for Chad"]

[Text] Washington, 8 Nov—The United States has concluded an agreement with the Ndjamena authorities on the delivery of Stinger antiaircraft missiles.

State Department spokesman Charles Redman reported this to journalists here. He said that instructors have already been sent to Chad to teach Chadian servicemen how to use this weapon.

With reference to "official administration sources," *The New York Times* specifies that the agreement with Hissein Habre envisages sending 24 Stinger missiles and 7 launchers to Ndjamena. This $2 million deal, as the newspaper attests, signifies the further buildup of U.S. interference in the Chad-Libya conflict.

When the Stingers arrive in Chad in 2 weeks time, *The New York Times* notes, it will be the first African country to receive these missiles which are a "symbol of the United States' secret support for the antigovernment forces in Angola and Afghanistan." The delivery of the Stingers, in the newspaper's words, serves Ndjamena as a signal that Washington supports the military option in resolving the border dispute between Chad and Libya over the Aozou Strip.

Reagan Meets With Israeli President Herzog

LD111125 Moscow TASS in English 1028 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 11 TASS—President Reagan met with President Hayim Herzog of Israel in the White House on Tuesday. The Israeli president is currently in the United States on an official visit.

When welcoming the head of the Israeli state, Reagan said the first official visit to the United States by the president of Israel emphasized close and special relations existing between the two countries.

The U.S. President went on to say that the United States and Israel shared common goals and values which was evidenced by their "strategic cooperation". The head of the U.S. Administration maintained that the United States was firmly committed to the quest for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, "a negotiated settlement that would assure the security and well-being of the people of Israel and its Arab neighbours".

However, it is known that in actual fact the U.S. policy in the Middle East boils down to attempts at imposing separate deals with Tel Aviv upon Arab countries, and thereby at disuniting the Arab world. Washington continues to stick to the non-constructive stand with regard to the Palestinian problem a solution to which is the core of a settlement of the Middle East conflict.

In a reply speech the president of Israel made it clear that Tel Aviv intended jointly with the USA "to move forward to a further phase of this process" which had been stared by the conclusion of the Camp David separate agreements.

Hayim Herzog also pointed out that the importance of Washington's alliance with Tel Aviv grew in connection with Israel's stratgeic position.

Administration officials have said that main attention at the meeting in the White House was devoted to the discussion of the situation in the Middle East and the "general state" of U.S.-Israeli relations.

The president of Israel also addressed a joint session of Congress. Israeli official spokesmen emphasize that the purpose of Hayim Herzog's arrival in the United States is to strengthen American-Israeli contacts.

The visit is taking place on the eve of a new round of bilateral strategic cooperation talks which are to be held in Washington on November 17-19.

Reagan Extends 'State of Emergency' in Iran

LD110956 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 11 TASS—On Tuesday President Reagan extended the "state of emergency" in relations between the United States and Iran.

This step makes it possible to keep in force a number of anti-Iranian measures which were taken eight years ago by the Carter administration following the seizure of the American hostages in Tehran.

In a brief message to the U.S. Congress President Reagan stated that the crisis which had arisen between the United States and Iran in 1979 was not fully resolved.

The document says that, although the International Court in The Hague continues to examine the financial claims brought about by the then arrest of Iranian assets in the United States and the crisis with the seizure of hostages in Tehran, no normalisation was achieved in trade and diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Last month President Reagan had signed an executive order introducing full embargo on the import of Iranian goods into the United States as well as on toughening the control over the export of U.S.-made goods to Iran.

First U.S.-Soviet Joint Enterprise Signed

LD112123 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—A ceremony of signing constituent documents for the USSR's joint Soviet-American enterprise to put out systems of control for contemporary petro-chemical productions, has been held at the building of the U.S.-USSR Trade and Economic Council in Moscow today. The documents were signed by Minister of the Oil Refining and Petro-Chemical Industry of the USSR Nikolay Lemayev and Chairman of the "Combustion Engineering" Board of Directors Charles Hugel, in the presence of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Vladimir Gusev and Minister of Foreign Trade of the USSR Boris Aristov.

Establishment of a joint enterprise acquires special significance on the threshold of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington, Nikolay Lemayev said at the ceremony. I am confident, he said, that the new enterprise will make a major contribution to the development of the USSR's production and export potential. We consider the event as the first step in the extensive work with American companies.

The joint enterprise is a historical event for the "Combustion Engineering", said Charles Hugel. Countries in the present-day world become increasingly interdependent, and the ever deeper involvement of such a great power as the USSR in the world economic system is a natural process. I am confident that the first Soviet-American venture will be a major milestone not only to the "Combustion Engineering", but also to other American investors, said the head of the company.

The data on activities of the joint enterprise were disclosed at a press-conference held on the occasion. Its ownership capital, with the Soviet partner's share to be not less than 51 per cent, will be 20 million roubles. 250-300 people will be on the staff, among them several dozens foreign specialists. In three years' time the annual sales of the enterprise will reach 30 million roubles and

in five years' time—45 million roubles. The products of the joint enterprise are entended for the Soviet market, it was noted at the press-conference, and profits of the American partner and wages to foreign specialists in hard currency will be received as a result of increasing exports of petro-chemical products through the use of the products of the enterprise.

The joint enterprise has already received the first order—from the Moscow oil refinery.

New York-Moscow Flights To Begin in May 87

PM101146 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 3

[A. Illesh report: "Direct Moscow-New York Flights"]

[Text] These flights, without superfluous landings and, journalists were assured, without any particular problems over their organization, will begin to be carried out by Aeroflot and Pan American from 15 May next year. The number of flights between the two cities will increase to five per week, and, most importantly, joint operation of the Boeing-747 will begin on this route for the first time.

C. Acker, chairman of Pan American, and V. Samorukov, chief of the Ministry of Civil Aviation Foreign Relations Administration, spoke of this.

V. Samorukov: Mr Acker has just had a meeting with A. Volkov, minister of civil aviation. They both noted that the development of cooperation over the last 18 months is cause for satisfaction. The joint operation of Boeing-747s is the first serious step toward implementing new, hitherto untried forms of such cooperation. In the future, the possibility is envisaged of using Soviet wide-bodied aircraft on the same routes and on the same basis. But in practice this can only be discussed when the new model comes into operation, the Il-96, which is being developed at the design bureau led by G. Novozhilov. What will the flights that begin in May have to offer passengers? First, a saving of 3 or 4 hours: There will no longer be the intermediate landings at Frankfurt-am-Main. Of course, the standard of passenger services will improve, above all for Aeroflot passengers. Four of our stewards will take their places alongside the American crew in the Boeing cabin.

C. Acker: I would like to note that we are very pleased with the new form of cooperation. I am convinced that in the future it will bring economic success to both Pan American and Aeroflot. I am also convinced that passenger shipments between Moscow and New York must be increased. The flow of tourists and business people will certainly increase in the existing situation. The agreement we have signed with Aeroflot provides for Pan American participation in the re-equipping and construction of a number of hotels in Moscow for our joint passengers. What prospects do I see for cooperation? We hope, in particular, to set up a joint enterprise with Aeroflot (and this is realistic) for duty-free trade. [Acker ends]

Experience shows that in the years when direct contacts between the airlines were curtailed, some 85% of passengers used third countries' aircraft for flights between Moscow and New York. The passengers suffered, and we lost money. Now the situation will change from May. Mr Acker presented the minister of civil aviation with a model of a Boeing-747, saying Pan American on one side and Aeroflot on the other. This is not only symbolic; it is encouraging.

Near East & South Asia

Academician Outlines Stance on Gulf Conflict

LD051211 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 5 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—"The Soviet Union has never placed the problem of disarmament, which is, naturally, of prime importance, in opposition to tasks of eliminating international conflicts," Yevgeniy Primakov said today.

The director of the Institute of World Economics and International Affairs at the USSR Academy of Sciences, was speaking in the press centre for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

"We understand how important it is to eliminate regional conflicts in various parts of the world, as these may become detonators that will explode the world peace."

"The Soviet approach to the Persian Gulf problem takes into account the entirety of all interests. Of course, the USSR favours, above all, the cessation of the Iran-Iraq armed conflict which already resulted in numerous human casualties and innumerable material damage.

At the same time, the Soviet Union takes into account the objective need for safeguarding the freedom of navigation. In this connection, the USSR put forward an effective proposal, that of establishing a naval force in the Gulf under the United Nations flag.

As to the Middle East, the Soviet Union opposes separate deals that delay overall settlement," Primakov pointed out.

"An international peace conference on the Middle East is the only way towards such a settlement. Persistent struggle for the convocation of the conference will create a situation that would facilitate the isolation of Israel in its aspiration to block the only possible way towards the solution of the problem."

Problems of relationship with other countries, especially our neighbours, had never left, nor would ever leave the field of vision of Soviet politics.

Its aim—to improve international relations, to turn them into relations of sincere, honest [words indistinct].

Herzog Still Opposed to Near East Talks

LD120945 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Igor Surguchev commentary]

[Text] The Israeli president, who is for the first time in the United States on a state visit, addressed a joint session of the two houses of Congress. According to news agencies' reports, Herzog, head of the Israeli Government, said that the main threat to peace in the Near East is not the Arab-Israeli conflict but the Iran-Iraq war and the growth—as he said—of Islamic fundamentalism in Muslim countries. He defended the so-called direct, that is, separate talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors as a reliable way toward settling the Near East crisis. The latest news commentary: Igor Surguchev is at the microphone:

The news agencies single out these theses of Herzog's speech in the U.S. Congress and evaluate them correctly as those that determine Tel Aviv's attitude toward energetic international efforts directed at the achievements of all-embracing and lasting peace in the Near East. Unfortunately, one has to note that this attitude remains negative. At the same time, when the idea brought to the fore by the Soviet Union on calling under the UN auspices of an authoritative international conference on the Near East received a wide backing worldwide as never before, and has in real terms risen on the agenda, the Israeli president once again stands for separate deals of the Camp David type, which have not made a single stride in drawing the opposing sides nearer to an all-embracing and just settlement, and which is being rejected by the Arab states.

Thus Herzog's words and the call for direct talks between Israel and separate Arab countries, which has already set teeth on edge, signifies nothing else but Tel Aviv's refusal to participate in the planned international conference. One cannot but note that from all its proposed participants only Israel stubbornly opposes holding such a form. Even the United States—which with other permanent UN Security Council members have to participate in the conference—has in principle no objection, although it too, voices some crucial slander.

The position set out by Herzog in the U.S. Congress provides also an evidence of the fact that Israeli ruling circles do not share the opinion of Israeli Foreign Minister Peres, who supports holding an international Near East forum.

As far as the claim of the Israeli president that the Near East is threatened not so much by the Arab-Israeli conflict as by the Iran-Iraq war and the growth of Islamic fundamentalism—in other words, religious fanaticism—is concerned, then the claim also calls for the torpedoing of the plans for convening a conference on the Near East, and in a wider sense the general efforts aimed at achieving a peace settlement in the region.

Herzog's claim is a graphic example of how attempts are being made to draw attention away from the need for the speediest possible solution to the Near East problem by referring to the Iran-Iraq war. It is possible to argue about where the main danger to the peace in the Near East lies—with the Arab-Israeli conflict, or with the Iran-Iraq war and the growth of Islamic fanaticism.

It seems to me that one thing is indisputable: It is necessary to extinguish the hotbeds of danger of war in both—in the Persian Gulf and directly in the Near East. The world public, in its striving for the end of the Iran-Iraq conflict and for convocation of an international conference on the Middle East, is acting precisely in this spirit.

Iranian President Sends Message to Gromyko

PM111659 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Message to Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, from Iranian President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i]

[Text] To His Excellency Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

I congratulate you on the anniversary of the Soviet national holiday. I wish success for Your Excellency and happiness for the Soviet people.

[signed] Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of Iran

Ryzhkov's Visit to India 'Another Milestone'

PM111423 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Visit by USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N.I. Ryzhkov to India"]

[Text] USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N.I. Ryzhkov will be paying an official friendly visit to India during the last third of November at the invitation of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. He will take part in the opening ceremony of the Festival of the USSR in India.

The upcoming visit by the USSR Council of Ministers chairman is in accord with the tradition of warm and friendly relations existing between the USSR and India

and exchanges of high-level visits between the two countries. Both sides attach great significance to this visit as yet another milestone in the development of multifaceted cooperation between the Soviet Union and India.

Admiral Chernavin Leaves for Syria 9 Nov

PM111435 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Nov 87 First Edition p1

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy and deputy defense minister of the USSR, left Moscow for Damascus 9 November at the invitation of General M. Talas, Syrian defense minister.

Adm Chernavin was seen off at the airport by Army General Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, commander in chief of the Ground Forces and deputy defense minister of the USSR, and other admirals and officers.

Major General M.KH. al-Qassabin, acting military attache at the Syrian Embassy in Moscow, was among the send-off party.

Opposition to UN Moves on Afghanistan Noted

LD111432 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

The 42nd session of the United Nations General Asembly considered the Afghan issue at a time when Afghanistan has been carrying out a policy of national reconciliation.

This course finds growing support of the Afghan population and evokes positive response throughout the world. Positive trends have become visible in settling external aspects of the Afghan problem: Certain progress has been achieved at the talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan in Geneva through the U.N. secretary-general's personal representative.

A number of countries wanted the U.N. General Assembly to adopt a politically significant and authoritative document to create a favourable international environment that would facilitate a political settlement of the situation related to Afghanistan.

Corresponding amendments to the Pakistani draft resolution on the Afghan issue have been proposed, which could changed its tendentious character and lop-sided orientation, balance it and make it acceptable to all U.N. member countries.

These amendments have been blocked, however, by those who are not interested in the peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem. These forces, which launched an undeclared war on Afghanistan, are trying to continue the war by political means at the United Nations in order to prevent the defusion of tension in the situation relating to Afghanistan.

It is believed within Moscow's diplomatic circles that the Pakistani Resolution was imposed once again on the U.N. General Assembly. The resolution is deprived of political realism and ignores positive processes taking place inside and outside Afghanistan.

This cannot weaken, however, the determination of socialist and non-aligned countries to use all possibiliteis for the earliest political settlement of the issue.

Najibullah Cited on Reconciliation Process

LD112302 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—TASS Political News Analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

The way towards ending the fratricidal war in Afghanistan and normalizing the situation around it lies through the implementation of the course of national reconciliation, through ceasing interference in the DRA affairs and its guaranteed non-resumption. This was confirmed one more time by DRA representatives at the 42nd U.N. General Assembly session.

As Najibullah figuratively said, the tree of reconciliation yields first fruit. In ten months of reconciliation, 2,300 villages were liberated peacefully, 30,000 rebels laid down arms, more than 100,000 refugees broke through the wire of Pakistani and Iranian camps, without waiting for diplomatic decisions in Geneva, to return to the homeland.

Reconciliation became objective reality. The DRA leadership chooses new and new forms to put this policy into effect. Contacts are established with commanders of armed groups inside the country, the search is under way for compromises with commanders of second echelon groups abroad. They are suggested joining coalition government bodies.

In contacts with the opposition abroad moderate and neutral forces are drawn. A proposal was put forward to open a representative office of main opposition organisations in Kabul if their leaders accept the idea of a compromise. The party does everything possible to draw as many representatives of other patriotic forces supporting the reconciliation idea as possible in the governing body, all those who are sincerely interested in ending bloodshed.

"But the axe of the black forces of imperialism is raised over the tree of reconciliation" Najibullah says. Washington and its henchmen pay lip service to peace and prosperity for the Afghan people but in action hamper in every way the normalization of the situationin that

much-suffering country. By fanning up anti-Soviet hysteria, seeking to preserve the seat of tension on the southern approaches to the Soviet Union, Washington increases allocations to the counter-revolutionary groups and supplies the most advanced weapons to them. It seems that in Islamabad they do not wish either to realize that the Pakistani authorities likewise bear direct responsibility for the bandits' crimes on Afghan land.

A settlement of the situation around Afghanistan that would bring about the establishment of an independent neutral and non-aligned state can be achieved by the policy of reconciliation, the policy of talks and cessation of outside interference rather than extra hundreds of "Stingers" and "Blowpipes", millions of dollars in "aid" to the counter-revolutionary groups.

DRA Border Villages 'Almost Wiped Out'

PM111253 Jeddah SAUDI GAZETTE in English 5 Nov 87 p 1

[Muhammad 'Ali al-Jifri report: "Soviets Wipe Out Muslim Villages"]

[Excerpts] Dr Abdullah Azzam [name as published], Emir of Mujahidin Services Bureau and President of Board of Directors of *Al-Jihad* monthly magazine has confirmed press reports of Mujahidin penetration into the Soviet-occupied Turkestan and other Muslim territories bordering Afghanistan.

"Engineer Ahmed Bashir, Emir of Hezb-e Eslami of several Afghan provinces, and his fighters have entered the Muslim territories under the Soviet occupation, and as a result Russia had [as published] almost wiped out the Muslim villages on the banks of river Jihun," Dr Azzam told *Saudi Gazette*.

Asked if this was a massacre, he said "massacres had been carried out by Russian [as published] day and night with aerial bombardment and rocket pounding on the villages of Amu Darya (Jihun) River" which separates the Afghani-Russian boundaries.

"Mujahidin are infiltrating from Badghis, Qonduz, Badakhshan, and Takhar provinces of Afghanistan to Russia," Dr Azzam disclosed. They even reap pistachio and sell it in Pakistan. Their penetration has been a recurring process and not a rare practice." [passage omitted]

Mohammad Yasser [name as published], member of the Mujahidin foreign relations committee, had revealed to *Saudi Gazette* earlier that the Mujahidin have Soviet citizens from Turkestan fighting on the side of Mujahidin. "Turkestanis, Tatars, Caucasians [all as published] are all now conscious of the resistance movement," he said.

DRA Denies 'Acts of Agression' on Pakistan

LD112048 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Kabul November 11 TASS—The Afghan Foreign Ministry has denied the Pakistani Government's allegations that the Afghan Armed Forces committed acts of aggression against Pakistan.

The Pakistani charge d'affaires in Afghanistan has been told that the claims of artillery bombardment of three Pakistani regions from the Afghan side on October 6, 7 and 19 were found after thorough investigation to be contrary to reality.

Equally groundless were the assertions about "rocket and machinegun fire" from Afghan Air Force planes directed at the region of Arandav (Chitral) on October 25.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry called on the Pakistani side to refrain from groundless charges which were worsening the situation on the border between the two countries, *Bakhtar* information agency reported.

Statement Issued on Death of U.S. Journalists

LD112202 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Kabul November 11 TASS—The *Bakhtar* agency today distributed a statement concerning reports in the Western press alleging the death of two American journalists in Afghanistan. Similar charges were contained also in a statement by the U.S. Embassy in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA], the (?agency) stated further.

As a result of an investigation conducted by competent Afghan bodies it was established that three persons who looked like Europeans and who said they were correspondents were in one of the implacable bandit groups that had unlawfully crossed from Pakistan into the territory of Afghanistan. In violation of the terms of the cease-fire, *Bakhtar* reports further, this bandit group initiated an armed clash with Afghan military units. As a result, as local people say, two persons were killed and one seriously wounded. To date there are no detailed reports on this event. The appropriate bodies are continuing the investigation.

On behalf of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan *Bakhtar* agency is authorized to state that within the framework of national reconciliation the Government of Afghanistan provides foreign journalists with all lawful possibilities to acquaint themselves with the actual state of affairs in the country. The appropriate Afghan bodies give journalists the necessary assistance, this including the safeguarding of their personal safety. But in conditions of the continuing undeclared war the Afghan authorities cannot guarantee the safety of foreign citizens who enter the country unlawfully together with implacable bandit groups. Besides, the Afghan side views

the presence in the DRA of such foreign citizens as unlawful and their activity as interference in the country's internal affairs, the statement notes.

Third Day of Arab Summit Meeting Noted

LD101814 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Amman November 10 TASS—Today is the third day of an emergency summit conference of Arab countries held behind closed doors. Tahir al-Masri, minister of foreign affairs of Jordan, said that the work was going on not only at sittings attended by all the participants in the conference, but also at meetings between separate Arab leaders.

Al-Masri acting as an official representative of the conference pointed out that on the second day the attention of the conference had been focussed on working out ways of achieving a peaceful settlement of the Iranian-Iraqi war an overcoming inter-Arab strife and contradictions. The discussion of the present-day situation in Lebanon, primarily of a severe economic crisis and devastation caused by the Israeli aggression and the continuing occupation of part of Lebanese territory became an important aspect of the work of the conference. Specifically, a proposal was discussed on the creation of a special relief fund for Lebanon.

Hasan, Crown Prince of Jordan, [words indistinct] press conference Monday that the war in the Persian Gulf, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the situation in Lebanon continued to be the key problems of the conference. Hasan specially pointed out the negative impact made by foreign interference that led to a further kindling of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict and to the splitting of countries of the region into all kinds of alliances.

Hasan supported the convocation of a representative international conference on the Middle East and pointed out that the obstructionist stand of Israel continued to be the main obstacle on its way.

Conference Ends

LD111900 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Amman November 11 TASS—The final meeting of the extraordinary conference of heads of Arab states and governments was held in the capital of Jordan today. Speaking at the meeting, King Husayn of Jordan emphasized that the existing differences were being overcome at bilateral and multilateral meetings in the framework of the conference. "We have put supreme interests of the Arab nation above narrow interest", King Husayn said. "The conference will be a conference of accord and reconciliation".

The final communique read out by Secretary General of the League of Arab States Chedli Klibi emphasizes the importance of consolidating unity and solidarity of Arab countries.

The Arab summit conference declared for the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all the parties involved in the conflict, including the PLO, the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people, as well as five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. The communique emphasizes that this conference is the only means of establishing a lasting, all-embracing and fair peace in the region. The document points out that the Palestinian problem is central to the Arab-Israeli conflict and that peace in the Middle East cannot be established without the liberation of all occupied Arab territories and the exercise of the lawful national rights of the Palestinian people.

The participants in the meeting proclaimed support for the Lebanese people's struggle for sovereignty and territorial integrity of its country, for overcoming the internal crisis and for normalization of the situation.

The final communique confirms the right of peoples, among them the Palestinian people, to wage the struggle for independence, sovereignty, freedom and lawful rights. The communique condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, above all state terrorism.

The heads of Arab states and governments declared for the implementation of the resolution of the United Nations Security Council which calls for an end to the Iran-Iraq conflict.

The document says that "the restoration of diplomatic relations between any state, member of the League of Arab States, and Egypt is a sovereign act taken by every separate country in accordance with its laws and constitution".

Baccouche Says Foreign Policy Will Not Change

LD111752 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Tunis November 11 TASS—Tunisia's Prime Minister Hedi Baccouche stated that the country's foreign policy would remain unchanged. Tunisia, he told a press conference here, would develop relations with all states irrespective of their social systems.

On the internal situation, the prime minister said that for several years the country has experienced a period of instability. The time has come to consider changing the constitution, the law on the press and regulating the activities of political parties. Also discussed will be the question of abolishing the provision which envisages life presidency in the country. Hedi Baccouche stated his intention to extend dialogue with political and mass

organisations. He pointed out that agriculture and industry would receive paramount significance in the present difficult period for the country.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Alleged Soviet Base in Seychelles Dismissed

LD101114 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] The British newspaper *Sunday Times*, citing U.S.intelligence sources, has published its latest anti-Soviet canard about an alleged secret Soviet military base in the Seychelles. *Reuter* reports that such a report has given rise to puzzlement among the Seychelles inhabitants themselves.

Soviet Warships Begin Mozambique Visit

PM121055 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] The Mozambican capital has welcomed with a 21-gun salute a detachment of Soviet warships which has arrived in Maputo on an official friendly visit. The detachment under the command of Rear Admiral V.I. Darnopykh comprises the large ASW ships "Marshal Shaposhnikov" and "Admiral Zakharov."

Lieutenant General Tobias Dai, member of the Mozambique Liberation Front Central Committee and commander of the Mozambican Ground Forces, and Captain Manuel Caetano, commander of the Mozambican Navy, took part in the welcoming ceremony at the port of Maputo.

The Soviet sailors will take part in measures devoted to the 70th anniversary of Great October and will be honored guests at the ceremonies to mark Maputo's centenary on 10 November.

Commander Received by Chimpande

PM111525 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Nov 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Soviet Warships in Maputo"]

[Text] Maputo, 10 Nov—The official friendly visit to the Mozambican capital by a detachment of Soviet warships commanded by Rear Admiral V. I. Darnopykh continues. The detachment comprises the large antisubmarine ships *Marshal Shaposhnikov* and *Admiral Zakharov*.

The voyage commander was received by General A.J. Chipande, Mozambican national defense minister, and Captain First Rank M. Caetano, commander of the Navy of the Popular Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique [FPLM]. Soviet sailors laid a wreath at the monument on Heroes Square, where Samora Machel, first president of the republic, and other fighters for Mozambique's freedom and independence are buried.

The Soviet warships have been visited by workers, employees, and servicemen of the FPLM. The meetings with Soviet sailors have made a great impression. They are useful for our combat training—such was the comment left in the visitors' book on board the *Marshal Shaposhnikov* by officers from the local garrison.

CPSU Congratulates Tanzania's Nyerere

PM061613 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee undated congratulations to J. Nyerere on election as chairman of Tanzanian Revolutionary Party]

[Text] To Comrade Julius K. Nyerere, chairman of the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party

Esteemed Comrade Julius K. Nyerere!

Accept sincere congratulations on your election to the high post of chairman of the Tanzanian Revolutionary Party (CCM). This election attests to your great authority and the profound trust which the Revolutionary Party and the entire Tanzanian people have in you.

We wish you good health and successes.

We express confidence that the relations of solidarity and cooperation between the CPSU and the CCM and between the Soviet Union and the United Republic of Tanzania will continue to strengthen for the good of our countries and the cause of peace and progress.

The CPSU Central Committee.

Solidarity Committee Greets Mbeki on Release

LD070620 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee has sent its ardent fraternal greetings to the prominent member of the national-liberation movement in the South of Africa, the veteran of the African National Congress Govan Mbeki, who was released from a racist prison.

This event, says a telegram sent by the president of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee to the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa, is vivid proof of the successes of the national-democratic forces in the struggle against the criminal regime of apartheid in Pretoria.

The Soviet committee stated its solidarity with the just national-liberation struggle of the South African people.

USSR Expells Sierra Leonean AIDS Victim

AB080949 Paris AFP in French 1804 GMT 7 Nov 87

[text] Freetown, 7 Nov (AFP)—The first Sierra Leonean AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) victim arrived in Freetown on 5 November following his expulsion from the Soviet Union where doctors had diagnosed his case, medical sources disclosed today in Freetown. Upon arrival Hassan Bangoura, who was a medical student in the Soviet Union, was sent under medical escort to a hospital specialized in the treatment of tuberculosis patients, the source added.

According to the Soviet Embassy in Freetown, Mr Bangoura, who is more than 30 years old, underwent tests in the Soviet Union and was diagnosed "as an AIDS virus carrier." The Sierra Leonean medical authorities, on their part, declared that intensive tests are being carried out on Mr Bangoura to determine if he is an AIDS virus carrier.

West Europe

Britain's Arming of Afghan Rebels Viewed

PM121121 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Krivopalov dispatch under the "Facts, Events, Opinions" rubric: "Britain. 'Blowpipes' Versus Talks"]

[Text] London—The scene is the House of Lords. The time is 2 November this year. Peers' written questions addressed to the Cabinet are being discussed.

Lord Jenkins of Putney:

"My Lords, I would like to obtain an answer to a question which has been included on the agenda on my behalf. It is phrased as follows: Does Her Majesty's Government think that the British public has the right to know the use to which weapons exported by our country are being put and also whether British personnel are being used in wars abroad and where? Do the terms expounded in Lord Glenarthur's written answer (he is talking about the foreign secretary's statement of 23 July 1987—A.K.), referring to the reports that British weapons and instructors are helping fundamentalist counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan, extend to them?"

Lord Glenarthur, government spokesman:

"My Lords, as I already replied 23 July to the noble lord, it has always been the practice of all administrations not to comment on such matters. But I can confirm that at the present there are no serving military personnel participating in foreign wars."

Lord Jenkins of Putney:

"My Lords, I am grateful to the noble lord for the explanation which somewhat expands upon his former quite evasive answer... Is he aware that both the head of the Foreign Office and the foreign secretary elsewhere practically admitted that 'Blowpipes,' British 'surface-to-air' missiles, are being supplied to insurgents in Afghanistan? Does he know that Shorts, the company which produces them, is well known? Does he know that the route by which they are delivered to Afghanistan is well known? Does he know that it is precisely the case that practically everyone knows that missiles are being supplied to rebels?"

Lord Glenarthur:

"My Lords, I stand by my previous comment that previous administrations did not consider themselves bound to answer questions of this kind."

This fragment from the stenographic record of a session of the House of Lords gives an idea of the degree of frankness of British Government spokesmen.

In this very discussion under the roof of Westminster the "boat rocker," Lord Jenkins of Putney, expressed surprise that official London, while maintaining diplomatic relations with the Kabul authorities, is simultaneously supplying weapons to those who oppose their government. In fact, this policy is to be marveled at.

People in Whitehall are trying to provide propaganda justification for this line. This is illustrated by recent "background material" on the Afghan question supplied by the Foreign Office (true, with the footnote that it must not be taken as an expression of government policy). The "charge" of this document is wholly directed against the PDPA's constructive efforts to ensure a settlement in Afghanistan.

Demonstrating their objectivity, the document's authors admittedly talk about the cease-fire proposed and implemented by the Afghan Government but immediately stress that it has been ineffective. Something else "is forgotten": The counterrevolutionary detachments could not have waged the war without support and encouragement from certain Western powers. The Foreign Office's "background material" places the stress on withdrawing the limited contingent of Soviet troops from the territory of Afghanistan, but it deliberately makes no reference to the need to end any foreign interference in this country's affairs.

While discussing what must be done in the interests of true "democracy" the document's authors passed over the fact that Kabul has drawn up a definition of Afghanistan as a sovereign, neutral, nonaligned state. Or rather, perhaps it is precisely this prospect above all which does not suit the Conservative government? Are the "Blowpipes" and the "Stingers" its alternative to honest peace talks?

UK 'Interference' Noted

LD102313 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Great Britain's interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan is provoking increasing protest among the British public. The London newspapers report that this issue will again be raised by the opposition parties in the course of the autumn sitting of Parliament. Vsevolod Shishkovskiy reports from London:

[Shishkovskiy] The point at issue is delivery to the bandits of large consignments of ground-air missiles. They are called "Blowpipe" missiles and are manufactured by the British firm of Short brothers, whose works are in Belfast. As the British press indicate, the military actions in Afghanistan are taking on an increasingly bloody aspect, thanks to this state's delivery of weaponry to the enemies of the Afghan revolution, and are threatening to spill over that country's borders. It is noted that the same sort of thing could happen with them as with the U.S. "Stingers," which have turned up in Iran.

This is the conclusion reached, in particular, by the authors of the film *"The Secret Trail of the Missiles,"* which was shown recently on British television. They point to the fact that the "Blowpipes" are being delivered by air straight to Islamabad, from where they are distributed to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries under the guidance of the CIA and with the active assistance of the Pakistani military authorities. Some London newspapers link the start of the delivery of these missiles directly with the outcome of talks which Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had with one Abdol Haq, one of the leaders of the bandits. Prominent British political and public figures on more than one occasion have pointed out the hypocrisy and the grave danger of this policy of official London. [passage omitted]

Academy of Science Delegation Visits Britain

LD111329 Moscow TASS in English 0906 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] London November 11 TASS—TASS correspondent Yuriy Levchenko reports:

The Soviet delegation, visiting here at the invitation of the Royal Society and led by Academician Guriy Marchuk, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, have had a meeting with George Porter, the society's president.

Matters aimed at developing a useful dialogue between the scientists and scientific organizations of the two countries on promising areas of bilateral cooperation, and topical problems of international scientific policy were discussed.

Rendel Sebastian Pease, programme director for Fusion, UKAEA (Atomic Energy Agency), said in an interview with the TASS correspondent that the Royal Society had been for long maintaining fruitful relations with the scientists of Russia and the Soviet Union and had always admired their giftedness and abilities.

He said that in the past there had been ups and downs. The latter, paradoxical as it may seem promoted the fruitfulness of subsequent scientific contacts: A certain isolation of scientists urged them to rely on their own to a greater extent and made contacts more productive. Mr Pease said he regarded the current visit of the delegation of the USSR Academy of Sciences as an exceptionally important one. He voiced gratification that such a representative group of prominent scientists was visiting Britain and expressed hope for positive results because serious work had already begun.

Today the delegation members will go to various areas of the country and will tour scientific institutions, universities, colleges, and research laboratories of Britain.

Tolstykh, Delegation Arrive in Britain

LD121221 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 12 Nov 87

[Text] London November 12 TASS—A Soviet delegation led by Boris Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, arrived in London today to attend a scientific and technological forum of the USSR, Britain and the United States.

The subject to be discussed is "advanced technologies, industrial restructuring and economic interdependence."

The delegation comprises prominent Soviet scientists and public figures.

Razumovskiy Greets Austrian CP Official

PM101421 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Arrival in Moscow"]

[Text] An Austrian Communist Party delegation headed by Party Chairman F. Muhri arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee 8 November.

The delegation was met at the airport by G.P. Razumovskiy, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and by senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

Benelux-Soviet Trade Talks Held in Luxembourg

PM091703 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 31 Oct 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting in Luxembourg"]

[Text] Talks have been held between V.L. Malkevich, USSR first deputy foreign trade minister, who is head of the Soviet delegation to the 13th session of the joint

commission on economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Benelux Economic Union, and J. Poos, Luxembourg deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs and the national economy.

Changing FRG Attitudes to USSR Viewed

LD111107 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 8 Nov 87

[By Bonn correspondent Vladimir Kondratyev]

[Text] Attention is always given to the October festival in the FRG, but this year's jubilee is evoking unprecedented interest, and I am not exaggerating. In Moscow today, the press here notes, one's gaze is turned to history, and history is also being created there at the moment. Our restructuring and glasnost are giving rise to greater objectivity for many people here, too.

Who could have imagined even a few years ago that the second program of West German television, which is generally reckoned to be closer to conservative quarters, would call the October Revolution a turning point in world development? On the eve of the holiday, Soviet journalists in Bonn met Bundestag deputies from the Social Democratic Party and talked about the problems connected with the truly revolutionary changes in the USSR. There was also discussion about West Germans' changing ideas about our country.

According to polls, nearly four-fifths of the population is inclined to trust the Soviet leadership, and more than 90% would like to maintain close relations with us. These figures have never been so great. Of course, it was also noted that there are still influential forces for which such a picture is not to their liking, and which would like to halt the growth in attractiveness of Soviet society.

But despite the efforts of our opponents, who, as the right-wing press itself admits, are now in the minority, people here can nevertheless gain a more or less realistic idea of what our country was like 70 years ago and what it has become today. Our friends, the West German Communists, and many other democratic organizations are celebrating our common holiday genuinely and widely. At a many-thousands strong festive soiree of the DKP [German Communist Party] devoted to the October, it was stressed that the 70 years which have passed since the revolution have been marked by lively discussion about what relations the German state should maintain with the Soviet Union. The West German Communists express satisfaction and pride that the overwhelming majority of the FRG's population advocates neighborly and peaceful ties with the first country of socialism.

Genscher Talks With U.S. Official Whitehead

LD102157 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 10 Nov 87

[Text] Bonn November 10 TASS—Topical problems connected with East-West relations, primarily with disarmament and arms control, were discussed today at a meeting between Hans-Dietrich Genscher, minister of foreign affairs of West Germany, and John Whitehead, U.S. deputy secretary of state, who had arrived in Bonn for a visit.

According to an information report of the FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Genscher emphasized that the recent session of the Soviet steering bodies (he meant a celebration meeting in Moscow on the occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution) "confirms the policy of reforms and the foreign policy course of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee". Genscher pointed out that this course promoted the improvement of the East-West relations and progress at the disarmament talks.

Genscher expressed satisfaction over the coming signing of a Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. He pointed out that it was a major step on the way to ensuring greater security in Europe. He spoke out in favour of a consistent implementation of the concept of disarmament that had been agreed upon at the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik.

Chernyshev Comments on French Arms Budget

LD112142 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The French defence budget for fiscal 1988, approved by the country's National Assembly, exceeds by (?4.4) per cent this year's military expenditures.

Special significance is attached to the country's nuclear buildup, specifically in the field of strategic nuclear arms.

The modernization of two atomic missile-carrying submarines will be continued. The strategic air force will receive new nuclear-capable planes, Mirage-2000.

The French leadership's policy generates much surprise at a time when eight out of ten Frenchmen favour the elimination of all types of nuclear weapons and beleive that France should use all its influence to promote disarmament, official French circles refuse to facilitate these processes and are pressing for an arms buildup.

The country's military expenses will top 500 billion francs in the next five years, with more than 150 billion earmarked for the development of the national nuclear force.

This money will be used to modernize the atom submarines, complete before 1992 the rearmament of redoutable-class submarines with M4 MIRVed missiles, and start the construction of submarines of a new generation armed with M5 missiles.

It is also planned to arm Mirage-IV, Mirage-2000 and Super Etenderd planes with missiles having a range of 350 km, develop a new land-based ballistic missile with a range exceeding 5,000 km, and start in the near future the production of new Hades missiles with a range under 350 km.

Official Paris is apparently striving to perpetuate its membership in the nuclear club by declaring inviolability of its commitment to the nuclear strategy of flexible response and the "need" to preserve its own nuclear deterrence.

It flatly rejects the idea of nuclear-free Europe. Without combining conventional defence and nuclear deterrence, there would be no security in Europe, such is the credo of the present French leadership.

More over, Paris is playing an increasingly active role in shaping the European nuclear forces which the co-president of the West German Greens Party, Jutta Dittrufth, aptly described as appalling neoplasm. The French-West German military axis, she emphasized, was hindering East-West contacts and erecting giant barriers in the way of disarmament.

The French-West German agreement on cooperation in nuclear weapons and practical steps in that direction posed a serious threat to the continent.

Paris' stance with regard to disarmament issues is just as unattractive. The forthcoming conclusions of the Soviet-American treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles was described by the French leaders as a "relatively secondary element."

As to the French nuclear arsenals, French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac said that "naturally, it is out of the question that the French sub-strategic arms could be an object of any discussion whatsoever."

The French defence minister, Andre Giraud, insisted on finding a "replacement" for the American intermediate forces should they be eliminated in Europe.

At the multi-side talks on prohibiting chemical weapons, France sticks to a stand that in fact hinders the attainment of the (proposal) advanced: Its proposals for a so-called safety margin run counter to the objectives of the convention currently being drafted since they envisage the possibility of producing chemical weapons following the convention's entry into force.

All these facts show that the French leadership, defying the will of peoples, is unwilling to give up the course towards an arms buildup, but is striving to "lead" all of Western Europe along this dangerous path and is placing obstacles in the way of disarmament.

French 'Anti-Soviet' Article 'Refuted'

[Editorial report] PM111259 Moscow *Krasnaya Zvezda* in Russian 1 November 1987 First Edition carries on page 3 a 1,000-word article by Lieutenant General of Aviation Prof V. Serebryannikov, doctor of philosophical sciences, under the heading "Lies with Far-Reaching Goals" refuting allegations made by A. Besancon in the Paris weekly *L'Express*. According to the Frenchman, "all the talk of peace, new thinking, glasnost, and disarmament is intended to delude Western public opinion and conceal bellicose Soviet intentions," citing two books recently published by the USSR Defense Ministry Military History Institute as the basis for his conclusions. Serebryannikov refutes the Frenchman's accusations by analyzing Soviet foreign policy and military doctrine. He concludes by pointing out that the article in *L'Express* is intended to belittle the significance of the Soviet peace initiatives and "justify the surge in militarist activity in France and other NATO countries."

Spanish CP Leader Addresses Moscow Workers

PM101637 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian5 Nov 87First Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading "Foreign Guests' Greetings." Speech by Chairman of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain (PCPE) Ignacio Gallego at a meeting at Moscow's Ligachev Motor Vehicle Plant; date not given]

[Excerpts] I am proud of the fact that, together with my compatriots, I came to the Soviet Union in the distant year of 1939 after the defeat of Republican Spain which fought against fascism and after grim experiences in concentration camps, I. Gallego said at a meeting with the ZIL [Moscow I.A. Likhachev Motor Vehicle Plant] collective. This was a genuine expression of internationalism on the part of your people and your party, the party of Lenin, which we Spaniards will never forget. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union's confident and firm peace policy is viewed favorably and with great interest in Spain, the speaker continued. The initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev on behalf of the CPSU and the Soviet Government are strengthening our people's resolve to struggle for a nuclear-free world, for a nuclear-free Europe.

Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, and other Spanish cities are currently witnessing numerous demonstrations demanding the dismantling of U.S. bases and Spain's withdrawal from NATO.

Our party, the PCPE, is holding hundreds of rallies in connection with the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. Their main aim it to express our resolute support for the Soviet Union's peace policy. The fact that peace and socialism are inseparable is becoming more and more obvious. [passage omitted]

In Spain, as a result of the split, a special effort had to be made to restore our image, the very conception of the party based on Leninist ideas. We have still not achieved this great aim, but we continue to make headway, convinced of the fact that reunion of all Communists in a single party is necessary and possible on the basis of the theory that has lost none of its force today. In our work, the CPSU's theory and revolutionary practice retain paramount importance.

Naturally, the conditions of struggle differ from country to country. We were in the vanguard of the fighters for democratic freedoms, and today we endeavor to defend and to expand these freedoms. We seek to consolidate in our consciousness the idea that all the most difficult problems of our society can be resolved by means of socialist transformations alone. At the same time, we are not forgetting that it is necessary everywhere and daily to defend legitimate demands of working people and national interests. We regard what you are currently doing in your country as the direct continuation of the historical period which began in 1917.

We regard ourselves as part of the international workers and communist movement. For this very reason, we regard your successes, your results, and also your difficulties as our own. Our opponents in Spain refer to us as the pro-Soviet faction. In actual fact, we are internationalists. Hence our friendship with all the world's peoples, and above all, with the Soviet people who carried out the October Revolution.

Meets With Dobrynin, Zagladin

PM121143 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, had a meeting at the CPSU Central Committee 10 November with a delegation of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain [PCPE] consisting of I. Gallego, party chairman (delegation head); J. Ramos, party secretary general; and J. Ballesteros, member of the Executive Committee and Secretariat of the party Central Committee.

The PCPE delegation emphasized that the revolutionary changes in the life of Soviet socialist society and the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy initiatives are having a beneficial impact on the international situation, promoting vigorous, energetic actions by broad political and public circles in Europe and throughout the world in defense of peace and detente and against the threat of nuclear catastrophe, and opening up the prospect of rapprochement and cohesion among the very diverse forces which advocate social progress.

The CPSU representatives declared the constant solidarity of Soviet Communists with the struggle in defense of the Spanish working people's interests and for peace and social progress, wished the Spanish Communists successes in that struggle, and spoke in support of the efforts aimed at restoring the unity of Spain's Communist movement.

The mutual understanding and the unity of views of the CPSU and the PCPE were confirmed with regard to all the questions discussed at the meeting—relating both to international politics and to development of cooperation between the two parties.

The representatives of the CPSU and the PCPE voiced the unanimous opinion that the meeting of party and movement representatives who had come to celebrate Great October's 70th anniversary held in Moscow during the anniversary festivities showed that all its participants, regardless of all their differences and special features, are united by the desire to act in the interests of the working sections of the population and are ready to do the maximum possible to deflect the threat of war.

Spanish Paper Claims Soviet Attack Planned

LD112209 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Madrid November 11 TASS—Have you heard of the USSR's intentions to subject Spain to a nuclear bombing? You have not? But editor of Madrid-based newspaper *Ya* has "absolutely reliable" information of such plans and therefore published in the newspaper a sensational material under the caption "USSR Plan to Bomb Spain in Nuclear Conflict". Where has he obtained such information? The British intelligence service MI-5 referred to the Spanish Defence Ministry "a secret Soviet plan" in which various Spanish cities are mentioned as targets for a nuclear missile strike.

And this secret file on the USSR nuclear plans with regard to Europe was obtained by MI-5 not just in any place but in Moscow. The part of the files referring to Spain was turned over by a British military, "expert on problems of the USSR", to Spain's defence minister who received him at the request of MI-5 leadership.

Seeking to make this information seem convincing, *Ya* even printed a map of Spain where "the main targets of Soviet missiles" are pinpointed. They include big Spanish cities, among them Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia.

There is no need to prove that the publication in *Ya* is total absurdity. The question is who and for what purpose needed such a falsehood. It strikes the eye that this publication appeared the day after the Spanish Government officially notified the U.S. Government of its decision not to extend the operating agreement on friendship, defence and cooperation which expires on May 14, 1988. If Madrid and Washington fail to reach agreement by that deadline, the USA will be compelled to dismantle all its bases on the Spanish territory within a year. So the hint is quite transparent: Spain should in no case seek removal of U.S. military bases from its territory, otherwise it will be defenceless against "a nuclear strike by the USSR".

It has long been known to everybody that the USSR is not going to attack any country, neither Spain nor any other country. This is shown by the Soviet Union's latest peace proposals, by the entire peaceful policy of our state. But if this undoubted fact is recognized, then what is the need for U.S. bases on Spanish soil? So, if there is no threat, it should be invented. This is precisely what *Ya* and the sponsors of provocative publications are doing.

Kamentsev Arrives on Visit to Denmark

LD092332 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1857 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] Copenhagen, 9 Nov (TASS)—V.N. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived here today on an official visit. He was met at Kastrup City Airport by Danish Foreign Minister U. Ellemann-Jensen, and other officials.

B.N. Pastukhov, USSR Ambassador in Denmark, and Thorning-Petersen, Danish ambassador in the USSR, were also among the welcoming party.

Meets With Foreign Minister

PM121145 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS "Official Report"]

[Excerpt] Talks have taken place in Copenhagen between V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is on an official visit to Denmark, and U. Ellemann-Jensen, Danish foreign minister. A great deal of attention was paid to examining the proposals put forward by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev in Murmansk on the radical reduction of military confrontation and development of cooperation in the North and in the Arctic.

V.M. Kamentsev met with K. Olsen, chairman of the Danish chamber of trade and acquainted himself with the work of the "Haldor Topsoe A/S" and "Novo Industri A/S" firms. In conversations with the firms' representatives there were discussions about the prospects of implementing specific projects. [passage omitted]

Signs Fishing Protocol

LD112036 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1309 GMT 11 Nov

[Text] Copenhagen, 11 Nov (TASS)—Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Minister, who is in Denmark on an official visit, today familiarized himself with the activity of a number of enterprises producing equipment for processing agricultural output.

V. Kamentsev visited Danyard Association of Shipbuilding Yards in the town of Alborg (Jutland Peninsula), where a protocol was signed on agreement of basic commercial conditions for the order from the firm of four fish protection vessels for the USSR Ministry of Fisheries. There were meetings with representatives of Danish business circles, during which prospects were discussed of economic cooperation and specific Soviet-Danish projects.

Vorontsov Receives Turkish Ambassador

PM120913 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received O. Cankardes, Turkish ambassador to the USSR, at his request 10 November.

In the course of a thorough conversation, they discussed questions of Soviet-Turkish good-neighborly relations and also a number of international problems.

Gerasimov Interviewed on Arms, Ties

NC120858 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 8 Nov 87 p 9

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov by MILLIYET correspondent M. Ali Birand in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] The Soviet Union has disclosed that TCP [Communist Party of Turkey] Secretary General Haydar Kutlu's decision to return to Turkey is a matter concerning him alone, not Moscow. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has also stated that deployment of new nuclear missiles in Turkey will adversely affect relations between the two countries.

During an exclusive interview with *Milliyet*, Gerasimov said: "Each and every nuclear weapon deployed in Turkey will be a source of danger and threat to the Soviet Union."

It seems that the Soviet Union is trying at least to ignore the decision adopted by the secretaries general of the TCP and Turkish Workers Party [TWP], Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin respectively. These leaders visited Moscow to attend ceremonies marking the 70th October Revolution anniversary, holding press conferences and speaking over the Soviet radio and television network. In an effort to deny claims that "the TCP and TWP get their instructions from Moscow," officials we have contacted in Moscow said: "We are not even aware of this development. Maybe the Communist Party officials know about it, but the government is not involved."

The Soviet officials do not wish to give even verbal support to the TCP, which cannot exist without Soviet support. It seems they are worried about the negative effects such support might have on bilateral relations, particularly at this important stage. In fact, Gerasimov told us recently that the Soviet Government was not concerned with the decision by TCP Secretary General Haydar Kutlu to return to Turkey, regardless of the possibility that he may be detained and then arrested. He said: "The TCP secretary general's decision to return to Turkey is his personal concern. Kutlu is a Turkish citizen. If Turkey considers him the leader of an illegal party, this is an internal Turkish affair."

The Soviet Union has created the impression that it has not yet determined the policy it will pursue should Kutlu and Sargin be arrested after returning to Turkey. World communist parties gathered in Moscow to demonstrate their solidarity on the occasion of the 70th October Revolution anniversary. They regard the CPSU as their "main guardian party." Taking its foreign relations into consideration, however, the Soviet Government is trying to keep party and government affairs separate.

Gerasimov said that "arresting individuals for their views is not something to be approved." He also asserted that Kutlu is free to do whatever he wishes.

Western observers have noted that the TCP and the TWP cannot survive without Soviet support. They say that "Moscow will continue to support the two parties secretly."

Gerasimov said that the Soviet Union is uneasy about developments in the Western world which are pressuring Ankara in connection with the question of modernizing nuclear systems in Turkey, in accordance with NATO's Montebello decisions. He asserted that the nuclear systems currently in Turkey should not be changed, adding that a move to increase their number through modernization would adversely affect relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union. Gerasimov said: "Each and every nuclear weapon in Turkey is a threat to the Soviet Union. We do not know who controls the nuclear arms, who will use them. You should not forget that as far as we are concerned, the United States wishes to surround the Soviet Union, as required by the cold war theory. Unfortunately, Turkey is caught up in the effort to surround the Soviet Union. I hope that relations between the Soviet Union and the United States will improve. This would reduce the importance of the nuclear arms in Turkey. Nevertheless, every modernization creates a threat. While preparations are made to debate the question of reducing conventional arms, the Soviet Union categorically opposes proposals made to the NATO countries in connection with the nuclear modernization program."

Gerasimov also said that the question of reducing tactical nuclear arms, which have a range of up to 500 km, cannot be considered separately from the effort to reduce conventional arms. He maintained that having separate debates on the question of reducing conventional arms and short-range tactical nuclear arms would be very difficult.

Latin America & Caribbean

Soviets 'Support' South Atlantic Peace Zone

LD112042 Moscow TASS in English 1624 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] New York November 11 TASS—The U.N. General Assembly has come out in support of concrete programs for the South Atlantic to become a zone of peace and cooperation and warned against any actions that might create or heighten tension and potential conflicts in that region. These aims have been proclaimed in the resolution "A Zone of Peace and Cooperation in South Atlantic", which was passed by it on Tuesday.

Speaking in the course of the discussion on this question at the 42nd session of the General Assembly, representatives of Brazil, Uruguay, Nigeria and other countries noted that the idea of a zone of peace and cooperation in the region had provided evidence of the consolidation in the world scene of the new political thinking, the striving to ensure security through political, not military means. The states of the region should renounce deployment of nuclear weapons there, the criminal apartheid policy in the Republic of South Africa should be elminated and the problem of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands should be solved on the basis of the U.N. resolutions, economic cooperation should be strengthened to promote solution of development problems, it was noted in the course of the discussion.

The Soviet Union supports the idea of establishing a zone of peace and cooperation in South Atlantic, and its support logically stems from its foreign policy concept on the inter-dependent and interconnected world in which absolutely pressing becomes the task of removing

nuclear threat, curtailing the arms race, forming the basic principles of comprehensive security, said USSR's representative Roland Timerbayev. The inter-dependence of countries is ever growing, and since in the present-day world there is no reasonable alternative to policy of cooperation and interaction, formation of a peace zone becomes a substantial step towards establishing comprehensive security. The Soviet representative said the USSR was ready to discuss, with the participation of the United States and other [words indistinct], and also states of the region, the question of proper measures to put into life the General Assembly's call that military presence in the South Atlantic be reduced and nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction be not deployed there.

Only one delegation, the American, voted against the resolution on establishing a zone of peace and cooperation in South Atlantic.

Obstacles to Central America Settlement Viewed

PM110945 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Nov 87 Second Edition p 3

[Observer Manki Ponomarev "Military Political Review": "Central America: Light at the End of the Tunnel?"]

[Text] There is less than a week to go now before the commitments assumed by the participants of the Guatemala meeting of the presidents of five Central American states—Costa Rica, Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Honduras—are due to come into effect. The nearer we get to that date, the greater public interest in development of events in the region becomes.

I will remind readers that the document "Ways of Establishing a Sound and Lasting Peace in Central America," drawn up on the initiative of Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez, was adopted at a 6-7 August meeting in the capital of Guatemala. It determines measures leading to elimination of the threat of war and to a peace settlement in the region. The heads of the Central American states decided, in particular, to take the necessary steps to bring about a cease-fire in the countries where antigovernment actions are taking place, to effect an amnesty, start talks with the civilian opposition, prevent their territory being used to destabilize governments of other states in the region, and carry out talks under the auspices of the Contadora Group on arms reductions and security questions. At the same time, it was decided to appeal to all governments in Central America and beyond to stop giving military or any other aid to armed antigovernment groups operating there, which is seen as an essential prerequisite for establishment of peace. The sides also pledged to seek social justice, respect for human rights, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the right of all the peoples to freely choose their own political and socioeconomic system without any outside interference.

It is nearly 3 months since the document was signed. Not long, of course, but long enough to be able to make a practical start on unblocking the conflict situation and creating stable conditions for solving the problems of the region as a whole and of each individual country.

This is particularly evident in Nicaragua. The people of that country embarked on the path of revolutionary transformations and became the victim of an undeclared war organized by Washington and waged by mercenaries—the contras—directed and armed by U.S. imperialist circles. More than 43,000 people have already died in this devastating war imposed on the republic of Sandino, and the material damage approaches 3 billion dollars.

In the conditions of unending aggression, the Sandinist government set up a national reconciliation commission headed by opposition figure Cardinal Obando y Bravo, lifted restrictions on media activity, and implemented other measures to broaden democratic processes in the country. On 7 October the Sandinist People's Army suspended offensive operations against the contras in a number of areas of three northern departments. An amnesty was announced which guaranteed respect for all rights of former counterrevolutionaries voluntarily laying down their arms.

A number of other measures being implemented by the Nicaraguan revolutionary leadership in accordance with the terms of the Guatemala agreement could be cited. They all show that the processes of national reconciliation are actively developing in the country.

The situation is more difficult in some other countries that are party to the agreement. For instance, in El Salvador, the quest is continuing for mutually acceptable accords between the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front-Democratic Revolutionary Front (FMLN-FDR) and the Duarte government. Because of the obstructionist actions of government representatives, the sides have not yet come to an agreement, although there is hope that one will be reached in the course of the third round of talks which began the other day, particularly as a law has just been adopted on an amnesty for people convicted of "political crimes." It also relates to partisans waging an armed struggle against the government.

But in Honduras there are still no visible signs of progress. There the patriotic forces—as yet without effect—are demanding that the government get rid of the contra camps which are serving as a base for attacks on the territory of neighboring Nicaragua and destabilizing the situation in Honduras itself.

What is the cause of the obvious difficulties over implementation of the Guatemala agreement? Primarily the policy of the Washington administration. President Reagan has repeatedly stressed that the United States is on a "crusade" against Nicaragua. In an effort to hinder the process of reconciliation in Central America, the White

House put forward its own "peace plan" which is essentially a demand for capitulation by the Sandinist government and the other progressive forces in the region. But when the "plan" failed, Washington started to put spokes in the wheel of the Guatemala agreement.

At first, Washington was forced to grit its teeth and recognize the agreement. But then the U.S. President resolutely rejected the plan it contained for a peace settlement in Central America and pledged to continue backing the contras' bandit formations and guaranteed aid to the El Salvador reactionary regime. Speaking recently to the OAS, the head of the White House made it abundantly clear that the United States would not stop interfering in Central American states' affairs and would seek to overthrow the existing system in Nicaragua. It is to this end that the administration intends to make Congress cough up $270 million for the contras. It was clear from the President's words that the United States reserves the right to open and, if it sees fit, even armed interference both in Central America and in other parts of the world. As Senator A. Cranston once said, the White House talks about peace and, at the same time, is financing war.

Washington is making demands on Nicaragua that are incompatible with its sovereignty. It is stated in the form of an ultimatum, for example, that the Sandinists should start direct talks with the contras. The Salvadoran Government's talks with representatives of the patriotic forces are cited as a model. But that is an obvious cheat! There is no civil war in Nicaragua. The country, it is stressed in Managua, is the object of aggression on the part of the United States; the contras are Washington's mercenaries and do not represent anyone. But in El Salvador, the revolutionary fronts are waging a war against an antipopular regime.

In order to normalize the situation, the Nicaraguan Government has repeatedly proposed to Washington commencement of direct bilateral talks and settlement of the crisis situation. On each occasion it has encountered a categorical refusal. It would be appropriate to cite here the words of U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz: "I think it is important to say right away that there is no situation in which the United States would want to sit down at the negotiating table with Nicaragua to decide what is good for Central America."

An analysis of Washington's actions suggests the conclusion that the chief obstacles to establishment of peace in the region are the neoglobalist policy of the United States and its support for the Nicaraguan contras and other reactionary groupings and forces. In this connection *The New York Times* frankly states: "President Reagan is continuing to follow a destructive course vis-a-vis a peace settlement in Central America. In following this course, the United States is challenging the whole of Latin America and the whole world."

The territory of Honduras remains the base for Washington's aggressive actions. Numerous military bases have been set up there, and U.S. instructors train the contras there. Since 1982 the United States has been carrying out joint maneuvers there with Honduras. In these maneuvers, a total of 70,000 U.S. servicemen have been trained for intervention against Nicaragua.

According to Nicaraguan Interior Ministry data, the CIA is preparing a series of armed attacks on civilian and military targets. To this end, over 800 mercenaries are preparing to invade the territory of the republic's Atlantic coast from Honduras.

The other day there was a conference of foreign ministers of the five states that participated in the Guatemala conference. It was only on the question of stopping aid to "irregular armed forces," that is, the contras, that the conference participants failed to reach agreement: Washington's pressure on some of them was a factor. But an accord was reached to the effect that the provisions of the document "Ways to Establish a Sound and Lasting Peace in Central America" would be binding for the five countries in the region as of 5 November. Over the period between 5 November and 5 January, the international commission to verify and monitor fulfillment of the Guatemala accords, which includes representatives from the United Nations, the OAS, the Contadora Group, and the Support Group, will be able to visit any of the five countries to check on implementation of these accords.

This turn of events can only be welcomed. The Soviet Union has repeatedly expressed satisfaction with the Guatemala accords, believing that their implementation will be an event of great importance and will bring about progress toward an ultimate peaceful solution of the regional crisis. During the visit by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze to several Latin American countries, our country's position on this score was greeted everywhere with sympathy and support. The Soviet-Brazilian joint communique stressed that the Central American crisis must be settled on the basis of total respect for the principle of noninterference and solely by Latin American countries. At the same time, the initiatives of the Contadora Group and the Support Group, geared to a peaceful solution of Central American problems, was noted.

In the Soviet Union's opinion, solving the crisis in Central America, like other regional conflicts, is possible only by political means, which rules out the

practice of imperialist interference to which the United States is constantly resorting. Central American countries and Latin American countries in general have great potential when it comes to finding mutually acceptable solutions. In its greetings to Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez on his being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1987, the USSR Supreme Soviet reaffirmed the Soviet Union's resolve to contribute to efforts to implement the decision adopted by the presidents of the five Central American countries and expressed the hope that there would be successful progress along the path of establishing a just peace and good-neighborliness in Central America on the basis of noninterference and strict respect for sovereignty and for the right of each people to decide its own path of development.

This is the USSR's invariable stance. Throughout its 70-year existence, the Land of the Soviets has always been on the side of the peoples struggling against imperialist exploitation, oppression, and neocolonialism and for freedom and independence.

Ortega Addresses OAS Session
LD112347 Moscow TASS in English 2233 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Washington November 11 TASS—"The Nicaraguan Government will fully comply with the terms of the agreement on the quest for ways to establish durable peace in Central America signed by presidents of five countries of the region last August", President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has stated when addressing an annual session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States.

He reiterated Nicaragua's allegiance to the observance of the Guatemala accords and pointed out that the U.S. Administration did not promote by its actions their successful putting into effect. He said that in the past three months, from August 7 to November 5, the CIA for the purpose of supplying counterrevolutionary gangs with arms and ammunition.

Gorbachev Talks With Cambodians
PM101155 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 November 87 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Talks in the Kremlin"]

[Text] Moscow November 9 TASS—Today a meeting was held between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) and chairman of the State Council of Kampuchea, and Hun Sen, member of the Politburo of the KPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of Kampuchea. The meeting was attended by Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the talks held in a friendly and comradely atmosphere, the sides discussed questions pertaining to the development of the situation in Cambodia and around it.

Heng Samrin informed the Soviet side of the progress with translating into life the national reconciliation program. The main aim set before itself by the leadership of the KPRP and People's Kampuchea consists of ensuring interests of the Cambodian people, the interests of peace, stability and goodneighbourly relations in the region.

Mikhail Gorbachev expressed solidarity with the constructive approach of the Cambodian leadership to the problem of a Cambodian settlement. The course for national reconciliation opens the real road to a political settlement of the Cambodian problem. The Soviet Union consistently backs peace initiatives of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos and is ready to promote actively, in future too, the unblocking of the conflict situation in the region.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Heng Samrin favoured further all-round strengthening and development of cooperation between the CPSU and the KPRP, the USSR and Cambodia.

Further Report
BK100715 Phnom Penh SPK in French 0508 GMT
10 Nov 87

[Text] Phnom Penh, 10 Nov (SPK)—Mikhail Gorbachev,general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received on Monday at the Kremlin Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP [Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, and Hun Sen, member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers.

Vladimir Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was also present. The meeting, which was held in a climate of friendship and camaraderie, touched on problems related to developments in and around Cambodia.

Heng Samrin informed his interlocutors on the implementation of the national reconciliation program. The main goal of the policy of the KPRP and the PRK is to ensure the interests of the Cambodian people and those of peace, stability, and good neighborliness in the region.

Mikhail Gorbachev expressed solidarity with the constructive approach of the PRK leadership on settling the Cambodian problem. The national reconciliation policy has paved the way for a political settlement of the Cambodian problem. The Soviet Union consequently supports the peace initiatives of Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos, and is always ready to contribute to a dialogue on the current situation of conflict in the region.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Heng Samrin advocate an all-out consolidation, development, and cooperation between the CPSU and the KPRP and between the USSR and the PRK.

The Cambodian delegation visited the USSR museum of renovation on 8 October. It learned about the origins of the three Russian revolutions, the victory, and the historic achievements of international proportions of the October Revolution.

The interest of the visitors was on the multiple activities carried out by the CPSU aimed at implementing a policy based on the acceleration of social and economic development in the Soviet Union, as well as on the revolutionary process of restructuring. The Cambodian delegates were interested in the "Book and Revolution" exhibition opened to mark the 70th anniversary of Soviet power. It is an important collection of periodicals, clippings, and posters from 1917 to 1922.

Gorbachev, Nguyen Van Linh Meet
LD091335 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 9 Nov 87

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met today with Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee. A mutual desire was expressed during their conversation for the further development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the CPSU and the CPV, and the USSR and the SRV. The fundamental significance of the measures agreed during the recent visit to the USSR by the general secretary of the CPV Central Committee to increase the efficiency of all-round Soviet-Vietnamese links was noted. During an exchange of views on international issues it was noted that the Moscow meeting of representatives

of parties and movements attending the 70th Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary festivities, had been a new and important stage in the struggle for peace and social progress.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nguyen Van Linh confirmed the commitment of the Soviet Union and Vietnam to the idea of transforming the Asian-Pacific region into an area of peace, stability, good neighborliness and cooperation. Complete support was voiced for the policy of national reconciliation being conducted by the government of the Peoples Republic of Kampuchea in the interests of the Kampuchean people and the strengthening of peace and security in the region.

Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee took part in the meeting, which passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and full mutual understanding.

Gromyko Praises Vieira, Tambo at Ceremony
LD092239 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 9 Nov 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A ceremony took place today in the Kremlin of presenting the Orders of Friendship among Peoples to Gilberto Vieira, general secretary of the Colombian Communist Party Central Committee and ANC President Oliver Tambo.

Addressing the ceremony, Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko noted:

[Begin recording] Dear Comrades, esteemed foreign guests. Today in the Kremlin we are honoring two major figures of the national liberation movement. One comes from Latin America, the other from Africa. One represents the fighters for peace and democracy from the huge Latin American continent, the states of which are groaning under the weight of imperialism's financial oppression. The other represents those who fight for national libertion in the zone of dyed-in-the-wool reaction to apartheid and racism.

Despite the fact that you, Comrade Vieira and you, Comrade Tambo, represent various continents, your fate has much in common, much that is characteristic of genuine fighters for the people's cause. You were subjected to arrests, you experienced the bitterness of denunciations and false accusations, you went to prison. However, you have remained people with an unblemished conscience, ardent hearts, and a shining faith in mankind's better tomorrow.

We are glad that today, on this festive day, those who are given the awards are here accompanied by their comrades in the struggle from Latin America and Africa. Today's award ceremony assumes special significance because it is taking place during the celebrations of the 70th Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary and immediately following the conference of representatives of parties and movements.

We are confident that everything that is now taking place in Moscow provides a powerful stimulus to the dissemination of the new way of thinking and new approaches to tackling the global problems of the present time and, above all, represents a mighty contribution to the great struggle for peace, disarmament, and elimination of the threat of war. [end recording]

Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko cordially greeted Comrades Vieira and Tambo on behalf of the Soviet leadership and conveyed to them sincere greetings from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

In their reply speeches, comrades Gilberto Vieira and Oliver Tambo cordially thanked Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for the high appraisal of their work.

Comrades Demichev, Dobrynin, and other officials were present at the ceremony.

Najibullah on National Reconciliation
LD061326 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—The Afghan people regards the policy of national reconciliation as its vital cause, a cause for the whole nation, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, chairman of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah said at a press conference here today. He said it was emphasized at the second nation-wide conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan that the People's Democratic Party is not just a revolutionary force but also a national patriotic force in the country and that its task is to establish peace on Afghan soil, preserving national sovereignty, territorial integrity and the country's adherence to the principles of nonalignment. The Afghan leader said the conference was keynoted with the idea that the course for national reconciliation is not only a scientifically substantiated but also truly a cause of the people. [sentence as received] The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan defends the interests of all peoples of the country, has profound respect for traditions and religious beliefs of all nationalities of Afghanistan.

Answering numerous questions about the withdrawal of a limited contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, Najibullah stressed that to suggest the withdrawal of Soviet troops and to lose sight of the aggression and military interference of imperialism in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is not

objective, to say the least. Everybody knows that if financial, material and military aid to armed units of the opposition is stopped now, it will be unable to continue a bloody war.

The Afghan leader confirmed that a French journalist was arrested in the north of the country, in Fariab Province. He was in an armed group of counterrevolutionaries. It has been established that till now the journalist illegally crossed into the territory of the DRA nine times. His case is being investigated.

Answering the question as to how the policy of national reconciliation is implemented in practice, Najibullah said: "From this rostrum, I invite representatives of the opposition in Afghanistan, if they want so, to nominate their candidatures to the post of the country's president".

Iraqi CP Leader at Moscow Meeting

PM061141 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Nov 87 Single Edition p 7

[Unattributed report on speech delivered by Iraqi Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary 'Aziz Muhammad at October Revolution anniversary meeting in Moscow's Kiyevskiy Rayon; date not given]

[Excerpts] All progressive mankind celebrates the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which turned socialism from a dream into actual reality and made peace among the peoples possible, 'A. Muhammad told a ceremonial session in the capital's Kiyevskiy Rayon. Your immortal revolution is marked by a spirit of renewal and it remains today an inexhaustible source of that spirit not only for your great country and the socialist system but for all progressive forces in the world. Mankind has now been spared world war for 42 years thanks to the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence that has been firmly and unswervingly adhered to by the motherland of the glorious October revolution. [passage omitted]

Iraq is going through the most difficult period in its modern history. Its national independence is threatened by the danger posed by war and its attendant destruction, ruin, and, in particular, irreplaceable losses of life for the two neighboring peoples. Because of these circumstances, the abnormal situation in the country, and the absence of democracy the struggle of our party and all Iraqi national patriotic forces to end the war, establish democracy, and secure the Kurdish people's national rights is encountering enormous difficulties. The Fourth Iraqi Communist Party Congress, held 2 years ago, confirmed that the party's chief slogan is to halt hostilities and end the war by a just and democratic peace. The party is now stepping up its struggle to implement this slogan, which is in accord with the deepest needs and aspirations of both peoples and the needs of worldwide security.

Our party supported in every way the efforts made by the Soviet Union to ensure adoption of Resolution 598 by the Security Council and supports today its actions designed to implement this resolution aimed at effecting the withdrawal of all armed forces and foreign navies from the Persian Gulf, considering that this path will lead to the establishment of peace between the two countries.

Iranian Tudeh Delegate at Moscow Rally

PM061609 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Nov 87 p 6

[TASS report under general heading "Foreign Guests' Greetings"]

[Excerpts] Speech by Ali Khavari, first secretary of the Iranian Party of the Masses [Tudeh] Central Committee. [subhead]

Together with the party of great Lenin and the heroic Soviet people, all progressive mankind and the fighters for peace, democracy, and social progress are currently marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, A. Khavari said addressing a ceremonial meeting in the capital's Leningradskiy Rayon. [passage omitted]

The spirit of internationalism was characteristic of October from the very beginning. Working people throughout the world, demonstrating international solidarity, welcomed the revolution in Russia. And conversely, the entire glorious history of the state created by October is imbued with support for peoples' liberation struggle. The people of Iran, just like other peoples of the world, wholeheartedly welcomed the victory of October and immediately felt its direct impact on their lives. During the first days of its existence, Soviet Russia extended the hand of friendship and assistance to the peoples of Iran who had suffered so much, it annulled the slavish agreements imposed on Iran by the Tsarist rulers, and in 1921 it concluded a treaty with Iran which provided a reliable basis for the country's independence.

The Iranian people felt the Soviet Union's firm support during the years of World War II, during the struggle for the nationalization of the oil industry, in the days of the 1979 February Revolution, and in the years that followed. The USSR is conducting the same clear policy also in respect of the Iran-Iraq war. It has declared more than once that it favors an immediate end to the Iran-Iraq armed conflict and the solution of the controversial questions which exist between the two countries at the negotiations table rather than on the battlefield.

As opposed to this, U.S. imperialism has not only played the main role in unleashing this devastating war as a result of which around 1 million people have died, millions have been maimed and made homeless, and material damage totaling hundreds of billions of dollars

has been caused; it is also trying to extend the war, to perpetuate it, and to expand its military, economic, and political presence in the region.

The Iranian Communists, all progressive and democratic forces, and the working masses of our country are being persecuted by the ruling medieval tyranny, the speaker continued. The rulers of the Islamic Republic have kept tens of thousands of people who are devoted to the cause of freedom and social justice in prison for years. To date thousands of people have been executed and many have disappeared without a trace. Torture and execution applied to those who do not agree with the ruling regime have become common practice. Women have been deprived of all rights, and national minorities are subjected to double oppression—national and social oppression. The rulers of the Islamic Republic have imposed a protracted fratricidal war on the Kurdish people, who have suffered so much. The country's economy is in a state of crisis, poverty, inflation, appallingly high prices, the absence of elementary democratic rights and freedoms—all this is further aggravating the difficult situation in our war-ravaged country. Almost 5 years ago now Iranian reaction, in collusion with imperialism, mounted brutal repressions against the Iranian Party of the Masses. For 5 years now, thousands of the party's members have been languishing in the regime's medieval prisons. They, like imprisoned members of the Fada'ian-e Khalq Organization, the Majority Wing, and other progressive and democratic organizations, are subjected to massive pressure. However, despite all difficulties, the Iranian Party of the Masses continues to wage its just struggle for freedom, indepndence, and social justice.

Pak Song-chol Speech in Moscow

SK100841 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 2300 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Speech by Pak Song-chol, Politburo member of the WPK Central Committee and vice premier, at a meeting of political party and movement representatives commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution on 5 November in Moscow: "The WPK and the Korean People Who Are Defending the Eastern Post of Peace and Socialism"—read by announcer]

[Text] Comrades and friends,

The new history of mankind, which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution, is at a new turning point today on the way toward attaining the ultimate victory of the cause of peace and socialism.

As World War II ended with the defeat of Nazi Germany and the Japanese militarists, thanks to a decisive role played by the Soviet Union, international imperialism was dealt a severe blow and weakened; and a broad road toward the creation of a happy, new life opened for the people who aspire to peace and democracy, national independence and socialism.

However, the imperialists, the reaction of history which has outlived its time, never tried to withdraw from the stage of history on their own, but carried out desperate maneuvers to save their fate from collapse.

The U.S. imperialists, who gained an overwhelming advantage in the capitalist world after World War II, reorganized capitalism by internationalizing it through multinational businesses centering around their monopoly capital; and the imperialists stepped up exploitation and plunder against newly independent and developing countries by crafty neocolonialist means with combined forces. As a result, spokesmen for imperialism came to babble as if capitalism, which was ending its day, had come back to life after resolving its basic contradiction. However, this can never mean that the focus of the imperialists' chronic disease has been removed.

In the past the imperialists consumed much energy biting and plucking one another in a scramble for colonies and a redistribution of the spheres of influence. Since the war they, with U.S. imperialism at the head, have divided the world into affluent northern capitalist countries and poor southern developing countries by more easily plundering developing countries through conspiracy and collusion. This shows that imperialism did not ease the contradiction of the rich getting richer and the poor becoming poorer but further enlarged it on a global scale.

Because of the plunderous present international economic order based on neocolonialism, developing countries have become more economically subjugated and poverty-stricken, shouldering more debts to foreign countries with each passing day.

The impoverishment and the decline of the solvency of the developing countries cannot but be a blow to the imperialists as well, who have been growing fat at the expense of those countries. The imperialists found it inevitable to limit production and this, in the end, resulted in creating increased unemployment, inflation, and various other unsolvable difficulties and aggravating their economic crisis.

Since the root cause of the present crisis facing the imperialists lies in the very policy of aggression and plunder inherent in imperialism, the imperialists must naturally destroy the present, unfair international economic order and move toward establishing a new, fair international economic order.

Nevertheless, the imperialists who cannot discard their true nature of exploitation and plunder are clinging more firmly to the plunderous present international economic order, not only strengthening exploitation against the developing countries but also taking the road of militarizing the economy and aggravating international tension.

Trying to find a way out of the serious crisis facing them in the provocation of a new war, the imperialists are directing the brunt of their attack to opposing the socialist countries and the international communist movement, the fortress of peace and progress.

Today when world peace and the security of mankind are gravely threatened by the imperialists, the world's progressive people are faced with the urgent task of resolutely checking and shattering the imperialists' war-provocative maneuvers and defending peace.

Touting the 21st century as the era of the Pacific, the U.S. imperialists today are using South Korea not only as a military strategic base for attacking the socialist countries but also as a political and economic stronghold for slandering socialism and beautifying and adorning neocolonialism. As a result, the Korean peninsula has become the ground for a sharp confrontation between socialism and imperialism, and between the peace-loving forces and aggressive war forces.

While reliably defending the eastern outpost of peace and socialism, directly facing the U.S. imperialists, the ringleader of world imperialism, the WPK and the Korean people regard it as their sacred duty to the international communist movement and the world revolution to accomplish the Korean revolution to the last.

Comrade Kim Il-song at an early date clearly elucidated the principle that, since the destiny of the revolution in the course of carving out the road ahead of the Korean revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism depends, in the final analysis, on the role of the masses of people, the main body of the revolution, the Korean Communists must carry forward the revolution creatively from an independent position suitable to the concrete circumstances of their country and, to this end, they must strengthen the party, the staff, and leading force of the revolution, before anything else.

Our party sought a basic guarantee to successfully carry out the revolution and construction under the difficult condition in which the country is split and the enemy's new war-provocative maneuvers continue to firmly build up the party organizationally and ideologically and to strengthen blood-ties between the party and the popular masses.

By always insuring the firm unity and solidarity of the entire party and all the people under the leadership of the party Central Committee with Comrade Kim Il-song at the head, our party was able to victoriously carve out the road ahead of the revolution, overcoming numerous difficulties.

Through practical life we have learned that, although working our correct strategies and tactics is important in the revolution, a more important basic question is to firmly build up the main body of the revolution, which consists of the leader, the party, and the masses of people; and to look only for the success of the revolution without directing primary attention to strengthening the main body of the revolution is no different from expecting only good fruit while neglecting to tend the tree.

Comrade Kim Il-song, the respected and beloved leader, has always taught us that we should trace the causes of success and failure of work in the main body and look for objective work to do.

Since the decisive factor that determines the success or failure of the revolution and construction lies in the role of the main body of the revolution, when defects appear in practice of the revolution, the party should not attribute it to objective conditions but find a lesson in its activities in leading the masses of people before anything else.

To not commit subjectivism in its activities, the party should work out correct strategies and tactics based on scientific calculation of objective conditions and link them to the revolutionary ardor of the masses of people.

To emphasize the decisive role of the main body in the revolution and construction by no means means to underestimate the importance of other factors, such as material conditions of society and social relations.

Important in socialist construction is to provide social conditions to firmly lay the material and technical foundation of a new society by rebuilding nature and to insure the masses of people with independent, creative activities by remodeling social relations.

However, since it is man who is to rebuild nature and since it is also man who is to remold society, to carry the revolution and construction successfully forward, primary energy should be devoted to remolding man to rear the masses of people as powerful beings who possess a high level of ideology and culture.

Our party's consistent line of vigorously pushing ahead with nature-rebuilding work and society-remodeling work alike while placing man-remolding work ahead is clearly expressed in Comrade Kim Il-song's famous proposition that communism is the sum of three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural—added to the people's power.

Our party puts forward two things as the general strategic tasks in building socialism and communism: that of occupying the ideological and cultural fortress of a new society by placing the ideological revolution at the head and expediting the cultural revolution, and that of occupying the material fortress of socialism and communism by vigorously carrying out the technical revolution.

Socialist society is not a perfect communist society, but a transitional society that possesses legacies of the old society. Therefore, our party is actively pushing ahead with the three revolutions to liquidate legacies of the old

society and provide material, ideological, and cultural conditions of the new society and, at the same time, on that basis, devote great energy to remodeling society, which is designed to eliminate legacies of the old society in social relations, and further democratize and communize society.

The political duty to remodel socialist society more rationally and improve the method of its management and operation is assigned to the working-class party and the people's power led by it.

While vigorously carrying out the three revolutions—ideological, technical and cultural—our party attaches important significance to constantly improving the function and role of the state and social system by embodying the principle of socialist democracy.

One of the most important questions to which the working-class party, which took power, should direct attention is overcoming bureaucratism and promoting socialist democracy to a high degree in party-state activities.

There is a proverb in our country that goes: Downstream can be clear only when upstream is clear.

The highest leading political organization in socialist society is a revolutionary party. We should not forget that when the party is wholesome, the entire society can be wholesome; and when the party falls sick, the entire society can fall sick.

The basic reason for bureaucratism emerging in a socialist system lies not in the system itself, but in the old ideological vestiges of antipopular bureaucrats who do not respect but despise the working masses, the masters of the state and society, and egoist ideas that remain in the heads of the leading functionaries.

Therefore, to overcome bureaucratism and promote democracy, we must first firmly insure democracy in the party, embody the revolutionary masses' line of relying on the masses and serving the masses and, thus, resolve the question of rectifying the party functionaries' work method and style.

By continuously developing the revolutionary work method and popular work style created in the arduous anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and closely linking work to establish a unitary ideological system in the party and work to fulfill the mass line in party activities, our party is successfully overcoming bureaucratism and achieving perfect unity between the party and the masses of people based on socialist democracy.

Bureaucratism, irregularities, and corruption as social phenomena have disappeared from our country today, and such antipopular phenomena as behaving outrageously in cities and rural communities or feathering one's nest at the sacrifice of state and social property are almost unknown.

To promote the superiority of the socialist system, productivity should be developed based on advanced science and technology and, at the same time, the method of managing and operating it should be constantly improved. However, this should be based, to the last, on the revolutionary principle and method inherent in socialism and particularly the question of raising the ideological, technical, and cultural level of the people, the masters of the socialist system, should be resolved first.

The superiority of the socialist system lies in the fact that it is based on true democracy and, at the same time, on collectivism, an embodiment of revolutionary love of one's comrades. Therefore, under socialism, due attention should be directed to promoting democracy to the maximum and, at the same time, to strengthening the unity and solidarity of the social collective based on love of one's comrades.

By expanding to the entire society the democratic principle established in the party, our party is establishing a democratic lifestyle in all spheres of society. Meanwhile, our party is having all the people display collective heroism by helping and leading one another as comrades under the party's leadership, thus successfully resolving the question of promoting the superiority of the socialist system.

Even under conditions in which new war-provocative maneuvers by the U.S. imperialists and their stooges continue, our people today are firmly united around the WPK, vigorously pushing ahead with the revolution and construction with firm conviction in the victory of socialism.

We can convincingly state that socialism has struck its roots deep in the Korean soil and that the DPRK is consolidated as an iron fortress capable of reliably defending the eastern post of peace and socialism in any wind.

The author who threatens peace in Korea is U.S. imperialism. Without withdrawing U.S. forces from South Korea and achieving the independent and peaceful reunification of our country, it is impossible to expect firm peace on the Korean peninsula.

The most urgent task in defending peace in our country is to liquidate the existing state of expansive military confrontation, ease tension, make the LU.S. forces withdraw from South Korea with its nuclear arms as early as possible, and turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone.

The U.S. imperialists today shamelessly babble that their armed forces and military bases in South Korea are necessary because there are threats of a southward invasion.

Our Republic, which puts forward peaceful reunification as the basic principle for resolving the question of fatherland reunification, not only cannot have the intention to invade the south, it is also clear to anyone that southward invasion is impossible.

If the United States needs military bases in South Korea merely to prevent a southward invasion as it alleges, why should it kick up a row by bringing in more than 1,000 nuclear weapons and even building as many as 36 underground nuclear arms warehouses on an enormous scale?

This clearly shows that the U.S. imperialists are trying to use South Korea not only as a base for attacking our Republic, but also as an nuclear war base to oppose other socialist countries and progressive people in the Asia-Pacific region.

Our party has advanced various reasonable proposals to ease tension in Korea, defend peace, and create preconditions for peaceful reunification and has made every sincere effort for their realization.

The struggle to defend peace in Korea is inseparably linked with the struggle to defend world peace. Our party actively supports the peaceful initiatives and proposals introduced by the Soviet Union and various other socialist countries, as well as all peace-loving countries, to prevent nuclear war and defend the peace and security of the world and is strengthening militant solidarity with the peace-loving people of the world, who are struggling for their realization.

If aggression and war are the imperialists' method of survival, peace is the intrinsic demand of socialism. No matter how viciously the U.S. imperialists and their stooges may maneuver to deceive the South Korean people and the people of the world, they can never conceal their aggressive true colors.

The South Korean people realize more deeply with each passing day that the basic source of misfortune, which turned South Korea into the largest nuclear base in the Far East, seriously threatens the nation's survival and peace, patronizes military fascist rule, and obstructs the reunification of the country, is none other than the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

Today the South Korean youths, students, and working masses of all strata endlessly admire the socialist system in the northern half, where everyone enjoys independent and creative lives as masters of the state and society. By waging the antifascist democratization struggle against U.S. imperialism and for independence with firm conviction that only the revolutionary ideology elucidated by President Kim Il-song can save the nation's fate, they are shaking the U.S. imperialists' colonial rule from its roots.

This shows the absolute superiority of socialism over capitalism in Korea and the victory of the peace-loving policies of our party and government; and it arouses great support and sympathy from the peace-loving people of the world, who are struggling for peace and social progress.

Although time has long passed and generations have changed since the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the cause of the world revolution put forward by the great Lenin has not yet ended, nor has the target of the revolution changed.

Those making revolution have absolutely no right to forget the past no matter how life and conditions change. We must naturally emulate the indomitable fighting spirit and revolutionary principle demonstrated so highly by the revolutionary martyrs in that indescribably difficult environment and continue the revolution to the last generation after generation.

Our people will continue to hold aloft the banner of anti-imperialism and peace, the banner of socialism and communism, firmly uniting around the WPK headed by Comrade Kim il-song, vigorously expediting socialist construction in the northern half of the republic, actively supporting the fighting South Korean people, and strengthening international solidarity with the people of fraternal socialist countries and other revolutionary people of the world. Our people will thus faithfully fulfill the national mission and international duty of the revolution assigned to them.

Long live the unity and cohesion of the international communist movement and world peace!

Israeli Communist Speaks to Workers

PM101243 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 87 Second Edition p 10

[Unattributed report on speech delivered by Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel Central Committee, at ceremonial meeting of workers of Moscow Oblast organizations and institutions; date not given]

[Excerpt] The speaker conveyed cordial and warm greetings from all Israeli Communists, Jews, Arabs, all those who are friends of the Soviet Union, and all Israeli peace-loving forces in his speech at a ceremonial meeting of workers from Moscow Oblast organizations and institutions.

We listened to Comrade Gorbachev's report not only with great interest but also with great excitement. The subject defined in the report generated the greatest interest among all the foreign delegations and among you too. I would like to emphasize the part which analyzed the history of the Soviet Union and the party. Not in detail, of course, but in its principle features, objectively, sincerely, and scientifically. This is a great help to all of us Communists worldwide. Truth is strength! The greatest strength! We have all been waiting for the day to come when your party would say something that would excite the entire communist and progressive world.

We have always carried with us in our work and struggles the thought that our party was created in Palestine back in 1919 under the influence of the October Revolution. We have always been in solidarity with the Soviet Union. Our opponents criticize us: You always were in solidarity and you are now too. Yes, we were in solidarity and we do not think we were wrong. We were in solidarity with the October Revolution and we were in solidarity with the building of socialism, collectivization, and the real cultural revolution. We were enthusiastic about the victories of the Soviet Union and the Red Army over Nazi Germany.

We know that this was not all. And M.S. Gorbachev's report discussed this in detail and with conviction. But we have never considered and do not consider the things that were negative to be socialism. Socialism is a pure ideal and a pure reality. Socialism remains an ideal for all progressive mankind. And you can be proud of the Soviet Union's immense achievements in domestic policy and the international arena.

Can you imagine what the world would have been like now in the nuclear age, had it not been for the Soviet Union? It does not bear thinking about!

Now it can be said—as John Reed would have done—that restructuring and glasnost in your country are shaking the world. They are having a tremendous impact!

The attractive force of socialism and the Soviet Union is now more widespread, much more widespread, even in a country like Israel, where anti-Soviet propaganda is conducted day and night—one could even say 25 rather than 24 hours a day. But even in our country, the speaker stressed, new thinking, restructuring, democratization, and everything else currently happening in the Soviet Union have influenced people not to heed anti-Soviet propaganda in the way that they used to do. This is helping us Communists a very great deal. [passage omitted]

Argentine CP's Fava Addresses Workers

PM101433 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 87 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report of speech by Athos Fava, secretary general of the Communist Party of Argentina, at ceremonial meeting of workers of Moscow Oblast organizations and establishments]

[Excerpts] Addressing a ceremonial meeting of workers of Moscow Oblast organizations and establishments, he said: I am proud and moved to be given the opportunity to participate in the celebrations for the Great October's 70th anniversary at a time when the bold process of renewing socialism—a process which serves as an example—is gathering momentum in the USSR. [passage omitted]

Many of us, the speaker emphasized, became Communists in the course of the workers' struggle, the struggle against imperialism in our distant country, under the influence of the unparalleled heroism of Moscow's defenders during the Great Patriotic War years. We knew all about the soldiers under Panfilov's command, the selflessness of the girl partisans Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya and Vera Voloshina, and the Soviet Communists and fighters who halted the Hitlerites on the approaches to the capital. Today I would like to recall once again one of the heroes of those distant battles—political leader Vasiliy Klochkov, who addressed these words to the soldiers who had resolved to give their lives: "Russia is vast, but there is nowhere to retreat to—Moscow is behind us." Today, too, there is nowhere to retreat to, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has said so repeatedly, as behind you lie the mistakes the question of which was raised in a self-critical and revolutionary manner at the 27th party congress and the recent CPSU Central Committee plenums; behind you lie the deviations hampering socialism's further development, the braking mechanism, inertia, social indifference, and red tape.

Many people are concerned now at what is happening in your country. Even some of our comrades ask us: "Is it necessary now to be as frank and self-critical as you?" They say to us: "The enemy could take advantage of glasnost." We do not believe so for many reasons: First, we are certain of the revolutionary nature of the truth. Second, there are already at least two experiences: your experience in restructuring and our own, albeit far more modest experience, but experience which does already exist.

What, then, does this experience tell us? Let us speak of the influence which the process taking place in the USSR has on our reality. Right-wing forces, the big bourgeoisie, and their hacks are in a state of confusion. It is not so easy to attack the Soviet Union now. Using terminology taken from boxing, people in our country say: "There is nowhere to hit." The very vitality of socialism and the effectiveness of socialist democracy are obvious. With what will they be able to counter the example of revolutionary spirit and morality and adherence of Soviet Communists to the truth? They have no serious counterarguments. What exception will they be able to take to the unshakable logic of the new political thinking, which is the further development of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence? They are no longer able to deny the fact that the peace-loving policy and proposals of the

USSR and the other socialist countries regarding creation of an all-embracing system of international security represent the only possibility of saving mankind from the threat of universal destruction.

Certain sections of left-wing movements have displayed disappointment and lack of understanding of processes' significance which, despite everything, have gathered momentum in your country. Theories have even appeared stating that the force of October's revolutionary impact has already become obsolete—theories which we do not share, which we reject. Now, under conditions of restructuring and glasnost, it is far easier for us to convince others of our general rightness and of the vitality of socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

The speaker spoke of the abrupt shift which has become apparent in the life of Argentine Communists. We, he pointed out, have subjected to rigorous self-criticism the manifestations of dogmatism, opportunism, and reformism which have occurred in our ranks and set ourselves the task of our party's Leninist transformation, the task of rising to the level and height of setting and achieving revolutionary goals, attaining power, fulfilling our international duty, and, above all, preserving peace throughout the world.

There have also been among us people who have spoken of the need to "meter" the self-criticism, lest the enemy exploit it. There have been others who have said the same thing, but with the purpose of avoiding an abrupt shift, having been thoroughly infected with opportunism for long years. But we have subjected ourselves to rigid self-criticism, and the enemy has not only not benefited from this but has lost out. We have benefited because frank analysis of our mistakes guarantees us against repeating them in the future.

Today, just as during the October days and the Great Patriotic War days, we are attentively following and fully support you in the complex struggle you are now waging. We are sure that Soviet socialism will achieve new victories in the course of revolutionary renewal.

PRAVDA Reports Further Foreign Speakers

PM061643 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting of Representatives of Parties and Movements Attending the Celebrations of the 70th Anniversary of Great October"]

[Excerpt] The following spoke at the 4 November evening session of the meeting of representatives of parties and movements: W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; V. Teiltelboim, member of the Communist Party of Chile Political Commission and Secretariat; A.Aalto, chairman of the Finnish Communist Party; E.M.S. Namboodiripad, secretary general of the Communist Party of India-Marxist Central committee; G. Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; M. dos Santos, member of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique Party Central Committee Politburo; M. Nugud, secretary general of the Sudanese Communist Party Central Committee; J. Weyninx, member of the leadership of the Socialist Party (Flemish), Belgium; and N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP.

Participants are still speaking. [passage omitted]

Israel's Vilner Talks With Leaders

TA090055 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 8 Nov 87 p 1

[Report by Ilan Shehori]

[Text] Rakah leaders Me'ir Vilner and Tawfiq Tubi met yesterday with the most senior officials in the Soviet top echelon and, according to several sources, also with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet leaders apparently wished to convey some message to the Israeli Government and to its leaders, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres.

In a telephone conversation from Moscow yesterday, Vilner told the *Ha'aretz* correspondent: "There will be a lot to tell. Our visit has been most significant and we will return with achievements." Vilner said that after his speech last weekend to an audience of dozens of delegations from all over the world assembled in Moscow to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, he was approached by representatives of countries that do not maintain diplomatic relations with Israel, among them the heads of the Syrian delegation. Vilner said that Gorbachev's remarks in his new book on his attitude toward the State of Israel, as well as the very fact that the book's contents were relayed to Israel even before the book was published outside the Soviet Union, are an unusual gesture on the part of the Soviets, reminiscent of the cordiality that marked the Soviet attitude in the first days of the State of Israel.

Joint Session Held in Honor of GOSR

PM051909 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

["Information Report on Joint Ceremonial Session of CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and RSFSR Supreme Soviet"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The Kremlin Palace of Congresses, Moscow. A joint ceremonial session of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution opened here at 1000 hours on 2 November 1987 in an atmosphere of festive elation and businesslike efficiency.

Members of the CPSU Central Committee, candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, USSR and

RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputies, veterans of the CPSU, participants in the October Revolution, heroes of military and labor victories for the socialist fatherland, Soviet Army and Navy servicemen, scientific and cultural figures, and prominent public figures are taking part in the ceremonial session.

The session is also being attended by party-state and party-government delegations from socialist countries, delegations of communist and worker parties, revolutionary-democratic and national-democratic parties, and liberation movements, social democratic representatives, presidents and heads of government of a number of states, eminent foreign public figures, diplomats, and representatives of the press.

The session was opened by Comrade A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The majestic melody of the Soviet national anthem was played.

Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, presented a report entitled "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues."

This was followed by speeches from participants in and guests of the ceremonial session.

Comrade K.P. Sinozerskiy, party veteran and participant in the civil war and the Great Patriotic War, gave a speech which met with a cordial reception.

A speech was given by Comrade V.S. Chicherov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy, leader of a team of fitters and assembly workers at the "Leningradskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod" Production Association, and twice Hero of Socialist Labor.

Comrade G.I. Marchuk, member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Hero of Socialist Labor, addressed those present at the ceremonial session on behalf of Soviet scientists.

A speech of greetings was then delivered by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, who was given an ardent reception by those present at the ceremonial session.

The participants in the session gave an ardent reception to the speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

A speech of greetings was given by Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, who was given an ardent reception by those present.

The session participants gave a warm reception to the speech by Finnish President Mauno Koivisto.

The evening session was chaired by Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

A speech was given by Comrade A.Y. Kolesnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, leader of a comprehensive team at the "Molodogvardeyskaya" Mine of the "Krasnodonugol" Production Association, and Hero of Socialist Labor.

Then a speech was given by Comrade E.Y. Kupcha, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, director of the Plyavinyas Secondary School in Stuchkinskiy Rayon, and honored teacher of the Latvian SSR.

A speech of greetings was given to the session participants by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, who was given an ardent reception by those present.

The session participants gave an ardent reception to the speech by Comrade Georges Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party.

The chairman announced that representatives of Soviet youth and young pioneers had come to greet the participants in the ceremonial session.

Banners were brought into the hall: a sacred relic of the October Revolution— the flag from the legendary *"Avrora"* cruiser— the Komsomol banner, the banner of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Pioneer Organization, and commemorative banners of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee.

Columns of young pioneers and young men and women filed into the hall to the strains of a march. Those present welcomed them with greetings and applause.

Nikolay Prokhorov, member of the Komsomol Central Committee and a Moscow worker, addressed the participants in the ceremonial session on behalf of Soviet youth.

The pioneers presented the members of the ceremonial session's presidium with flowers. The words "Lenin, the Party, the Komsomol!" rang out beneath the arches of the hall, to the applause of the ceremonial session participants.

Delegations, Hosts Conduct Meetings

Gromyko Meets Koreans

PM101417 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "In an Atmosphere of Fraternal Friendship"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko received the DPRK party and Government delegation which had been participating in the festivities to mark the 70th anniversary of Great October in the Kremlin 8 November. The guests included Pak Song-chol, member of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee Politburo and DPRK vice president (delegation head); Kim Yong-nam, member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo, vice premier of the State Administration Council, and DPRK foreign minister; Kwon Min-chun, deputy chief of the WPK Central Committee International Department; Kwon Hui-kyong, candidate member of the WPK Central Committee and DPRK ambassador to the USSR; Pak Kon-son [as published], sector chief at the WPK Central Committee International Department; Pak Hwang-po [as published], chief of the DPRK Foreign Ministry USSR Department; and Yi To-sep [as published], chief of the DPRK Foreign Ministry Protocol Department.

On the Soviet side, P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.S. Pasternak, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Transport and Communications Department; M.N. Smirnovskiy, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister; E.L. Kuzmin, chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium International Relations Department; and V.P. Tkachenko, deputy sector chief at a CPSU Central Committee department, took part in the talk, which was held in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and complete mutual understanding.

Demichev Receives Mozambicans

PM101233 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In a Spirit of Friendship and Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received the Mozambican delegation headed by Marcelino Dos Santos, member of the Mozambique Liberation Front Central Committee Politburo and president of the Mozambique People's Assembly, 31 October.

In a talk held in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding P.N. Demichev noted that Soviet people are greeting the October Revolution anniversary in a spirit of active work to restructure all spheres of life, aimed at accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and further improving socialist democracy. In the international arena the USSR consistently advocates the achievement of a nuclear-free world, the settlement of regional conflicts—including in southern Africa—and the creation of a new and fair international economic order.

Marcelino Dos Santos stressed the international importance of the changes taking place in the USSR. Restructuring in the Land of the Soviets, he said, confirms the vitality of the cause of the October Revolution, which has had an enormous impact on the struggle to liberate all oppressed peoples.

Joint satisfaction was expressed at the high level of bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Mozambique. The sides advocated the further development of ties between the two parties, parliaments, and peoples, and the strengthening of Soviet-Mozambican friendship.

Taking part in the talk were T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.Yu. Urnov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; and N.K. Dybenko, USSR ambassador in Mozambique.

Dobrynin Receives Syrians

LD061928 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—Information on the home and foreign policy of the USSR and Syria, on the activity of the CPSU and the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party was exchanged today by secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin and Assistant Secretary General of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, who heads the Syrian party and Government delegation at the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In connection with the situation in the Middle East the sides stressed the importance of building up efforts to achieve a just settlement of the region's problems and the need to convene for this purpose a full-scale international conference with the equal participation of all interested sides in it.

Dobrynin With Algerians

PM101159 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Meetings at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] On 6 November A.F. Dobrynin met with M.C. Messaadia, member of the Politburo and leader of the National Liberation Front (FLN) Central Committee

Permanent Secretariat, who is heading the Algerian party and Government delegation at the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

On behalf of the party and state delegation and the Algerian people, M.C. Messaadia conveyed warm congratulations on the noteworthy jubilee. He stated that the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution is a holiday not only for the Soviet people but for all the peoples and all working people of the world. The Algerian delegation head noted the wealth of the ideas on the fundamental problems of the present day contained in M.S. Gorbachev's report on the occasion of the jubilee.

It was noted that the broad participation of progressive and democratic forces in the celebrations in Moscow was graphic evidence of an increasingly deep interest in the Soviet leadership's dynamic policy and the restructuring that is taking place in the Soviet Union. M.C. Messaadia stressed the importance of the Soviet experience of socioeconomic development for other countries, too.

The sides expressed satisfaction at the high level of Soviet-Algerian cooperation and the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding characteristic of it.

They confirmed the community of the principled approach of the CPSU and the FLN to the struggle for peace and disarmament and for the radical improvement of international relations on the basis of equitable cooperation, peaceful coexistence, and the safeguarding of the peoples' inalienable right to freedom and independence.

The desire of the CPSU and Algeria's FLN to further strengthen ties between them was expressed.

Taking part in the conversation were K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, S. Ait-messauden [name as transliterated] and S. Khuri [name as transliterated], members of the Algerian delegation, and A. Fedal, Algerian ambassador to the USSR and member of the FLN Central Committee.

Dobrynin Meets With SED's Axen

PM101201 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Meetings at CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with G. Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on 6 November.

During the conversation, questions of further development of cooperation between the CPSU and SED in international affairs and some concrete problems of European security were discussed.

V.V. Zagladin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, took part in the conversation, which was held in a cordial atmosphere.

Titarenko Meets SED Member

AU101041 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Nov 87 p 2

[RATAU report: "A Conversation in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 4 November A. A. Titarenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and second secretary, met E. Mueckenberger, SED Central Committee Politburo member, chairman of the Party Control Commission under the SED Central Committee, and chairman of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, who arrived in the USSR for the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

During a warm and friendly conversation, information was exchanged about the progress made in the Ukraine in implementing decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and of the successive CPSU Central Committee plenums aimed at accelerating socioeconomic development and at profound restructuring of all aspects of Soviet society's life, and about implementation in the GDR of measures adopted by the 11th SED Congress to strengthen the country's economic potential on the basis of modern scientific and technological achievements, and of developing all-round cooperation with the socialist countries. The great importance of expanding relations among public organizations was emphasized for further consolidation of friendly relations between the peoples of the USSR and the GDR.

Participating in the conversation were A. E. Voss, chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Central Board of the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR; A. V. Merkulov, department chief in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V. P. Osnach, presidium chairman of the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; and S. Heldtke, GDR consul general in Kiev.

PDRY's Al-Bid, Colleagues

EA081003 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 2030 GMT 6 Nov 87

[Text] Brother 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the YSP [Yemeni Socialist Party] Central Committee, this afternoon met at his residence in Moscow Brother Dr Muhammad Sa'id al-'Attar, deputy prime minister and member of the permanent committee in the northern part of the homeland.

During the meeting, which took place in a brotherly atmosphere, a number of issues concerning unionist work between the leaderships of the two parts were discussed.

Brother 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, also met at his residence in Moscow today leaders of delegations of Arab communist and workers parties participating in the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Militant relations between the Yemeni Socialist Party and the Arab communist and workers parties were discussed at this meeting, in addition to a review of ongoing developments in the Arab arena in light of the increasing challenges facing the Arab national liberation movement from the imperialist and Zionist forces, as well as ways to reinforce the role and participation of the Arab communist and workers parties in the Arab struggle against all conspiracies and designs that aim to restore colonialist hegemony in the Arab region.

During the meeting, the leaders of the delegation of the Arab communist and workers parties expressed their high appreciation of the successes achieved by the Yemeni Socialist Party in the course of its struggle to consolidate the Yemeni toilers' authority and reinforce the march along the road of socialist orientation. They reaffirmed their solidarity with the struggle of our party and people in confronting all the internal and external conspiracies that are hostile to the course of socialist orientation.

Armed Forces Greetings for October Jubilee
PM041739 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 87 Single Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "USSR Armed Forces Delegation Greetings"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Esteemed Guests!

On behalf of USSR Armed Forces servicemen, allow us to convey to you cordial congratulations on the great holiday for the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist countries, and all progressive people—the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

The historic achievements of the world's first state of workers and peasants is convincing testimony of the victorious advance of the revolutionary teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the triumph of socialism, the inexhaustible might of the Soviet people, and the majesty of their achievements.

Army and Navy servicemen are proud of the feats of party veterans, participants in revolutionary events, the civil war, and the Great Patriotic War, and 5-year plan shock workers. They express the greatest respect for production front-rankers and innovators currently working selflessly and with inspiration on implementing the course of the 27th CPSU Congress. Honor and glory to them!

The heroic annals of the glorious work of ardent revolutionaries, valiant Red Guards, courageous defenders of the fatherland, and internationalist servicemen are being worthily continued by the present generation of Soviet Armed Forces, which is ready to honorably carry out its sacred duty under the leadership of the Communist Party.

In our nuclear and space age, the world has become too fragile for war or power politics. That is why the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states are consistently implementing the course of strengthening peace and universal security and have developed a strictly defensive military doctrine. At the same time, we well remember the lessons of the past, and the Soviet people can be sure that the combat readiness of their Armed Forces is being maintained at a level sufficient to crushingly rebuff any aggressor.

Soviet servicemen are part and parcel of their great multinational people. The revolutionary cause of restructuring being carried out in the country and renewal of society's life have set the Armed Forces new tasks in improving their combat readiness and strengthening military discipline and organization—tasks which Army and Navy personnel are working persistently to resolve.

Allow us to assure you, dear Comrades, that Soviet servicemen will continue to do everything incumbent on them to successfully carry out their patriotic and international duty and will greet the 19th All-Union Party Conference with new military successes.

From this lofty rostrum, we swear to be in a state of constant combat readiness to guard peace and the Soviet people's creative labor!

We so swear!

We swear to be true to proletarian internationalism and to vigilantly defend socialist gains shoulder to shoulder with servicemen from the fraternal socialist countries!

We so swear!

We swear unshakable loyalty to Vladimir Ilich Lenin's behests and the cause of Great October!

We so swear!

Long live the heroic Soviet people and their tried and tested vanguard—the Leninist CPSU!

World, Party Leaders Send Greetings

PRC Leadership to Gromyko

PM071631 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 87 First Edition p 4

[PRC Leaders' Great October Socialist Revolution Anniversary Greetings to Soviet Leaders]

[Text] To A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

To N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on behalf of the Standing Committee of the PRC National People's Congress, the Chinese Government, and the Chinese people, we send to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and all the Soviet people cordial congratulations.

Over the 70 years since the October Revolution tremendous changes of historic significance have come about in the countenance of the Land of the Soviets thanks to the creative labor of the Soviet people. The Chinese people rejoice at this and wholeheartledly wish the Soviet people new successes in the matter of building socialism, accelerating economic development, and enhancing the people's standard of living.

China and the Soviet Union are close neighbors having a very long common border. The Chinese people ardently love peace and devote all their strength and energy to the matter of carrying out socialist modernization, and they sincerely wish to live in friendship and good-neighborliness with the Soviet people. In recent years relations between our two countries have improved somewhat. We are profoundly convinced that the establishment of friendly and good-neighborly relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence fully accords with the aspirations and interests of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union, and favors the cause of construction and development of both countries and also peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world.

We wish the Land of the Soviets prosperity and might, and we wish happiness for its people.

Li Xiannian, president of the People's Republic of China

Peng Zhen, chairman of the Standing Committee of the PRC National People's Congress

Zhao Ziyang, premier of the PRC State Council

Poland's Jaruzelski, Messner

PM091644 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Message to Soviet leaders from Poland's Jaruzelski and Messner under general heading "Congratulations on the Holiday"]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee;

To Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium;

To Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Dear Comrades!

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the PZPR Central Committee and the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, on behalf of the Polish people, send cordial congratulations and best wishes to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and all the fraternal Soviet people.

Great October opened a new era of crucial significance in world history. The socialist revolution implemented by the working masses of Russia under the great Lenin's leadership put into practice mankind's age-old desire for a better life in conditions of justice and without exploitation or national and racial discrimination.

The example set by the workers and peasants of Russia, who embodied the aspirations of the oppressed masses in a program of action, became for the working class throughout the world an inexhaustible source of inspiration in the struggle for their rights. By proclaiming and implementing the ideas of the equality of nations, Great October fully exposed the inhuman nature of imperialism and colonialism and promoted the strengthening of the worldwide liberation movement and the accomplishment of the victorious national liberation movements that have changed the political map of the modern world.

The decades which have passed since October constitute an innovative path filled with selfless efforts by the Soviet people, who, under the Communist Party's leadership, have created the mighty Soviet Union and won tremendous prestige in the international arena. Now that many peoples have embarked on the path of building socialism, now that a community of socialist states exists and is developing on the basis of indissoluble friendship and complete equality, and socialism as an idea has won the hearts and minds of vast masses of people throughout the world, the crucial significance of the October Revolution as an event on the greatest historical scale is confirmed to the full.

For our people, Great October is indissolubly linked to the rebirth of the independent Polish state. We are proud that thousands of our compatriots participated actively in the October Revolution. The names of many outstanding Polish revolutionaries who made a valuable contribution to the formation and defense of soviet power have gone down in the history of Great October.

Our peoples' common interests found convincing confirmation in the difficult years of struggle against aggression from fascist Germany. Fraternity in arms on the battlefield and the Soviet Union's defense of Poland's vital national interests after the end of World War II formed a firm basis for fraternal relations of friendship and all-around cooperation between our peoples.

The Polish public greeted with tremendous interest and sympathy the program of revolutionary restructuring adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress. The changes aimed at accelerating socioeconomic development that are now taking place in the USSR have their origins in and draw their ideological content from the October Revolution. They are a creative development of Marxism-Leninism, they confirm its inexhaustible dynamism and ideological correctness, and they strengthen the forces of peace and progress.

This bold strategy is consonant with the program of renewal in our country, and brings our peoples even closer together. The ideological unity of our Marxist-Leninist parties is growing stronger. Polish-Soviet friendship is strengthening and all-around cooperation is developing successfully, acquiring fundamentally new content in accordance with the profound transformations taking place in our countries. We approach openly and creatively the quest for new, more effective forms of collaboration. The signing of the declaration on cooperation in the sphere of ideology, science, and culture was an event of great significance opening a new stage in cooperation in the spiritual sphere and creating the most favorable conditions for participation by wider circles of the public in our countries.

Bulgarian Leaders

PM121053 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Revolution Jubilee greetings to Gorbachev, Gromyko, Ryzhkov from Bulgaria's Zhivkov, Atanasov]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,

Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers,

Dear Comrades!

In connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution we send you, Soviet Communists, and the entire fraternal Soviet people very cordial congratulations from us personally and on behalf of the fraternal Communists and the entire Bulgarian people.

The colossal influence of Great October on the development of the whole world is even more obvious from the summit of this glorious jubilee. October opened up the way for the social liberation of working people, the consolidation of the international communist and workers movement, and the development of the peoples' national liberation struggle.

Soviet Communists and all Soviet people are rightfully proud of their revolution which has traveled a rapid and glorious path in 70 years. Overcoming backwardness and dislocation, enduring unbelievable suffering, and incurring innumerable casualties, under the leadership of Lenin's party the Soviet people using its liberated creative energy and tremendous efforts was the first to build a society on new socialist principles and to make a decisive contribution to the destruction of fascism and to the transformation of socialism into a world system.

The cause of Great October continues today in the course of the CPSU toward acceleration, restructuring, and renewal. This course of profound revolutionary changes in Soviet society is proof of the vital and indissoluble link between the spirit of October and Lenin's precepts and the historic decisions of the 27th congress and the innovative policy and practice of the CPSU.

For 7 decades the first socialist state has embodied the principles of peaceful coexistence proclaimed by Lenin's decree on peace. In our nuclear missile and space age the Soviet Union has become the pioneer of the new political thinking and of the struggle to save human civilization. Its bold approaches, constructive initiatives, and actions aimed at reducing and completely eliminating nuclear weapons and banning their deployment in space, radically improving the international situation, securing broad cooperation in resolving global problems affecting all mankind, and creating an all-embracing system of international security enjoy approval and support.

The close link between the revolutionary movements in our countries and the example of October were of decisive importance in the victory of the 9 September socialist revolution and in building a new society in Bulgaria.

The high goals outlined at the 13th BCP Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress naturally boost the friendship, cooperation, and comprehensive rapprochement of our countries and peoples to a qualitatively new level. The fundamental coincidence of the aims and directions of

restructuring in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union strengthens the firm determination of the Communists and all Bulgaria's working people to continue to travel a common path with their Soviet brothers.

On the day of the jubilee of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which we celebrate as a very great holiday, we wish you, dear comrades, and all Soviet people new achievements in fulfilling the designs of the 27th CPSU Congress, in the struggle for the cause of socialism and peace, and in the name of our common communist ideal.

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council,

Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers.

To Ryzhkov From Mikulic

LD112319 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 1700 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has received a greetings telegram from Branko Mikulic, president of the Federal Executive Council. [FEC] The telegram reads:

On the occasion of the 70th GOSR anniversary, which marked a new era in the modern history of mankind and opened up prospects for social transformation in the world, I extend to you and to the USSR Council of Ministers, on behalf of the FEC and on my own behalf cordial greetings and best wishes for new successes in socialist development and general prosperity of your country.

I wish to point out satisfaction at the high level of friendly relations and fruitful cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and to express deep conviction that they will further develop in all spheres with joint efforts and full use of existing capacities in the interests of the peoples of our two countries, peace, socialism, equal cooperation, and mutual understanding in the world.

To Gromyko From SFRY's Mojsov

LD112335 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 1700 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has received the following telegram from Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency:

On the occasion of the 70th Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary, on behalf of the nations and nationalities of the SFRY, the SFRY Presidency and myself personally I extend to you, Comrade Gromyko, to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and to the friendly peoples of the Soviet Union cordial greetings and best wishes for new successes in socialist development and the comprehensive progress of the friendly Soviet Union. The Great October Socialist Revolution marked a crucial moment in the historical development of mankind and became a world process of socialist development. The ideals and spirit of Great October were and will remain the inexhaustible source of inspirations and revolutionary aspirations to all those who fight for freedom, progress, and peace and the establishment of democratic relations and international cooperation on an equal footing.

Congratulating you on this great anniversary, I wish to lay particular emphasis on my sincere pleasure at the mutually beneficial cooperation between the SFRY and the Soviet Union. I also wish to express our deep conviction that relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation, based on the jointly established and tested principles, will continue to broaden and expand in future, in the interests of the two countries' peoples, internaitonal cooperation on an equal footing, peace and socialism, as well as general progress.

To Gromyko From Mitterrand

PM111227 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Greetings message to A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, from President Francois Mitterrand of France]

[Text] To Mr A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

On the national holiday of the Soviet Union and the celebrations to mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, I am glad to send you my ardent congratulations and wishes of personal happiness for you and prosperity for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Knowing the long-standing feelings of great respect and friendship which our peoples have for each other, I am confident that relations between France and the Soviet Union will continue to develop in accordance with our common will and in the mutual interests of our two countries.

[signed] Francois Mitterrand, president of France

To Gromyko From Kiprianou

PM111225 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Greetings message to Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, from President Spiros Kiprianou of Cyprus]

[Text] To His Excellency Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

On the portentous event—the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—please accept, Your Excellency, cordial congratulations and the warmest wishes on behalf of the Cypriot Government and people and on my own behalf.

I wish you good health and well-being and the Soviet people further progress and prosperity.

I also reaffirm our readiness to further strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries in all spheres. I again express profound gratitude for your consistent support for our just cause.

[signed] Spiros Kiprianou, president of Cyprus

DPRK Premier's Greetings

PM111315 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Yi Kun-mo, premier of the DPRK Administrative Council, greetings message to Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers on the October Revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

I send you the most cordial congratulations and comradely greetings on the occasion of the Great October Socialist Revolution's 70th anniversary.

Under the leadership of Lenin and the party of Bolshevik Russia's working class, severing the fetters of capitalism, accomplished the socialist revolution and created the first state of workers and peasants in the history of mankind.

After the October Revolution the Soviet people, warding off armed intervention and thwarting the numerous intrigues of internal and external class enemies, defended the Soviet Republic with honor and built a powerful socialist state possessing a developed economic potential and high defense capacity, thus brilliantly fulfilling the revolution's tasks at its various stages.

Today the Soviet people under the CPSU's leadership are waging an active struggle to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and in the present year, marked by the Great October Socialist Revolution's 70th anniversary, are achieving great success, widely mounting mass socialist competition.

We sincerely rejoice in the achievements of the fraternal Soviet people in implementing the cause of socialism and communism, and we express active support and firm solidarity with the Soviet people's struggle in defense of peace and security in Europe, Asia, and the entire world.

I would like to take this opportunity to express confidence that traditional Korean-Soviet relations of friendship and cooperation based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will be further strengthened and raised to a new, higher level of development in the spirit of the accords reached at meetings and talks between the leaders of our two countries in October last year, and with all my heart I wish you and the entire Soviet people great success in the struggle to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development.

Yi Kun-mo

Premier of the DPRK Administrative Council

King Hassan Greets Gromyko

LD080439 Rabat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Text] His Majesty King Hassan II has sent a cable of congratulations to his excellency Andrey Gromyko, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Yemen's Al-Bid's Greetings

LD011745 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1335 GMT 1 Nov 87

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the Yemen Socialist Party [YSP], has greeted the Soviet people in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

[Begin Al-Bid recording in Arabic with superimposed Russian] The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution opened up a new era in mankind's development. It extended colossal support to the international, and in particular the Arab, liberation and revolutionary process.

The ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution are extremely topical at the present time. They are to be found in the Soviet Union's peace policies and in its struggle on behalf of working people's happiness and against the threat of a universal nuclear catastrophe.

Democratic Yemen and the great land of Lenin, 'Ali Salim al-Bid goes on to say, are linked by close bonds of friendship. The Soviet Union was one of the first to recognize the young South Arabian state. At all the difficult moments of their life, the people of Democratic Yemen have felt the shoulder of Soviet friends to be nearby.

The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, 'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, says in conclusion, is a festival not only for the peoples of the Soviet Union. It is also a

festival for the whole of mankind. I wish the Soviet people progress and prosperity and success in carrying out the restructuring and new triumphs and accomplishments. [end recording]

Mugabe Greetings

PM111257 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Prime Minister of Zimbabwe Mugabe greetings message to Gorbachev on the October Revolution anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

On the occasion of a notable and historic date—the Great October Socialist Revolution's 70th anniversary, your national holiday—I have the great pleasure and honor of conveying to you, comrade general secretary, to the CPSU Central Committee, and to the USSR Government and people warm congratulations and revolutionary greetings from the Zimbabwe African National Union—patriotic Front [ZANU-PF] Central Committee and the government and people of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

My esteemed colleague, the international significance of the 70th anniversary of socialism's existence in the Soviet Union is welcomed and greeted with gratitude by the people of South Africa who are inspired by its ideas and enjoy to an enormous extent the fruits of the October Revolution not only in the sense of receiving material, moral and diplomatic support for liberation movements, but also in the sense of assistance in strengthening the independence of the "front line" countries won in grim battles. That is why the peoples of Southern Africa also attach great importance to the Soviet Union's contribution to the Africa Fund which will help our countries in making up the losses from retaliatory measures and boycotts by South Africa if the international community introduces comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid regime which, in our opinion, is the only peaceful means for establishing democracy and social justice in South Africa.

Comrade General Secretary, the recent Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear arms control and disarmament have given us hope. We hope that both sides will soon sign a treaty for the global elimination of ground-based medium-range nuclear missiles which will lead in the end to another treaty on the elimination of strategic nuclear arms. The achievement of disarmament for development will be the culmination of this. As you know, Zimbabwe is an ardent supporter of nuclear disarmament on the planet and is vigorously opposed to the militarization of space, which we see as a dangerous form of militarist expansionism. Space, being the common property of all mankind, must only be used for peaceful purposes.

I take this opportunity, comrade general secretary, to once again confirm the sincere wish of the ZANU-PF Central Committee and the Zimbabwean Government and people to deepen the good relations and further activate the multilateral cooperation already existing between our two parties, governments, and peoples. My esteemed colleague, let me assure you of my highest respect.

Robert Gabriel Mugabe

First Secretary and President of the ZANU-PF

Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

Hungarian Leaders Greet

PM121227 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[Hungarian leaders' greetings message to Soviet leaders on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee

Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Esteemed Comrades,

On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Hungarian Presidential Council, the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and all the Hungarian people we send you, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Soviet people our comradely greeting and very best wishes on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the formation of the world's first socialist state began a new chapter in the history of mankind. The results of the Hungarian people's revolutionary struggle are inseparable from the ideas of the Great October Revolution and its influence on the entire course of history.

In the 70 years that have passed since the victory of the revolution the Soviet people have achieved outstanding results in all spheres of life under the leadership of the Leninist Communist Party. The Soviet Union has become a power with enormous economic, scientific, and cultural potential, a wealth of natural resources, and

great production capacity. The processes currently taking place in the Soviet Union which are aimed at transforming society and the economy and ensuring their dynamic development have decisive significance for peace and socialism.

The Soviet Union has gained broad recognition throughout the world because, from the very beginning of Soviet power, it has consistently struggled for peace throughout the world and social progress. The Soviet peace initiatives—founded on the principle of equal security, imbued with the spirit of the new foreign policy thinking, and designed to remove the threat of nuclear catastrophe, rid mankind of mass destruction weapons, strengthen European and universal security, and develop international cooperation—are now particularly important.

The Hungarian people value highly their friendship with the Soviet people. The results of Hungarian-Soviet cooperation, which is based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and a community of aims and interests, benefit our people and the socialist community. The harmonious nature of the transformations and socialist reforms designed to promote Soviet and Hungarian socioeconomic development brings our cooperation in line with current requirements and raises it to an even higher level.

On this great day for the Soviet Union and all progressive mankind we wish you outstanding success in socialist building, implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions, and the preservation of peace throughout the world.

Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP

Karoly Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Presidential Council

Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers

Arbatov, Falin Hold News Conference

PM110915 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by A. Kuvshinnikov and A. Cherepanov: "New Thinking and the Realities of the World"]

[Text] In his report to the ceremonial session in the Kremlin and in his speech at the meeting of representatives of parties and movements which have come to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, developed the concept of new thinking in world politics. This topic generates great interest and many questions from journalists. Answers to them were given at the latest press conference held at the jubilee press center.

The first question, put by a Czechoslovak television correspondent, was "spot on": Does restructuring threaten the West by making the Soviet Union stronger?

Restructuring is quite effectively destroying deliberately created stereotypes about the Soviet threat, said Academician G.A. Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States and Canada, in his reply. This breakthrough is also necessitating some restructuring in the West. For example, it is becoming increasingly difficult to justify the need for the military improvement of NATO. But here we do not intend to help the West.

I think that for some people in the West the rejection in international relations of reliance on weapons and coercion will pose a threat, particularly to those whose prosperity and influence is connected with quite clear prejudices and foreign policy props. Before, very many people have considered force to be absolutely essential in international relations. But then, for many centuries people believed that the sun revolved around the earth. And when this proved to be an untruth, it turned out that one could live quite serenely with the truth.

"Was the decision by the West German Government to give up its Pershing-1A's a manifestatiion of new thinking on its part?" asked a correspondent of Bulgaria's *Kooperativno Selo.*

The concept of new thinking in its finished form was put forward at the 27th CPSU Congress, answered Doctor of Historical Sciences V.M. Falin, chairman of the *Novosti* Board, but like other crucial concepts it was not something done on the spur of the moment or the result of a sudden illumination. It was a courageous conclusion that demanded a reexamination of many of our ideas and a resolute rejection of the dogmas that had determined our approaches for decades. Seen from this perspective, the Western side's movement on the question of Pershing-1A's is the result not so much of new thinking as of necessity, of circumstances which left no option.

The newspaper *Nepszabadsag* (Hungary): It has been reported that agreement on the date of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States was reached as the result of an updating of the two sides' positions. What does that mean?

A month ago, Academician Ye.m. Primakov, director of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, explained, USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze visited Washington and made two proposals capable of advancing the solution of the question of halving strategic offensive arms while retaining the ABM treaty. They included a clear definition of laboratories where space system tests can be carried out as well a list of those systems which cannot be tested in space. During U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz' visit to Moscow this topic was further advanced by proposals made by M.S. Gorbachev. There was then a pause, but this did

not signify an interruption or change of positions; it was filled by a process of their further mutual rapprochement, which produced the result.

An interesting theme was broached by journalists from America's ABC and CBS TV companies. The gist of their questions was: You often talk about the role played by the military-industrial complex in U.S. political life and how it obstructs the holding of disaramament talks. But this time the talks have been crowned with success.... It turns out not to be so much of an obstacle to talks, then? And you, after all, have a military-industrial complex of your own, do you not?

This concept was not invented by Marxists but by U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower, who was, moreover, a conservative Republican, G.A. Arbatov immediately remarked. No thinking American can doubt that the military-industrial complex influences U.S. foreign policy.

But, it is our conviction, that the complex is not omnipotent. Facts prove stronger than ideology. And the facts are that the American economy cannot sustain the military expenditure and that the American public consists not just of lobbyists for the military-industrial complex, and we can see great changes in the U.S. Congress. American politicians cannot ignore this, and this has now proved stronger than the military-industrial complex,

As for our military industry, it contains no forces with interests of their own that run counter to national interests and act to the detriment of the latter. This is what distinguishes it from the military-industrial complex. Our defense scientists will very happily take up peace work.

Envoy Delivers GOSR Message in Libya

LD080449 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic 2028 GMT 7 Nov 87

[Statement by Pogos Akopov, USSR Ambassador to Libya—recorded; in Russian with superimposed Arabic translation]

[Text] My dear friends, the citizens of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah:

Today the people of the Soviet Union and all progressive mankind are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was the greatest event in the history of the world, and marked the beginning of the basic change of the social, economic, and political face of the world. The Bolshevik party, headed by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, led the working class and the rest of the toiling and exploited masses in Russia to (?demolish) the old regime, which was one of the [word indistinct] world imperialism and colonialism. The principles and aims of the October Revolution were totally embodied in the slogans [words indistinct] the deep (?convictions) which are: all power to the toilers! Factories, workshops for the workers and the land for the peasants! and peace to the peoples! In addition to its victory, the first society based on social justice was built free from exploitation of man by man, and founded on collective principles, mutual respect, and comradely cooperation, as well as international friendship for all peoples and for the nationalities which live in our country.

For the first time in the history of the world, the toiler and his interests and his needs were given the central position in the state's policy. The victory of the socialist revolution established real rights and freedoms for the toilers, and established the authority of the soviets as being a more democratic [words indistinct] of the state, which was found by the people themselves. In a very short time, the task of industrializing the country was solved and the socialist agriculture was brought about and the cultural revolution was realized. During the years of Soviet authority, total equality between all republics and nationalities was actually realized, and fraternal cooperation between them was achieved, and the Union of Soviet Socialists Republics was established. Time has proven the strength and firmness of this union.

The building of the new society [words indistinct] bravery and self-sacrifice by the [words indistinct0) people. Fourteen imperialist states attacked the young Soviet republic. The internal and external counterrevolutionary forces incited a civil war. [Words indistinct] played on the sentiments of the first generations but did did not compel them to retreat from their historic choice. The revolution proved its defense capability and at a cost of many victims it managed to preserve its right to (?exist). The workers of the majority of countries of the world supported our revolution and refused to be executioners of the Russian Revolution. Hundreds of thousands of internationalist foreigners fought on the civil war fronts together with the Red Army. World imperialism was compelled to retreat before the bravery of the toilers and peasants of the country of Great October, and before the will of the progressive forces of the whole world. Socialism won the first decisive battle against capitalism, thus reaffirming that the revolutionary renovation of the world cannot be defeated.

During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45, the Soviet people and their armed forces under the leadership of our party defended the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland, and the cause of Great October, and fundamentally participated in the victory over fascist Germany and its allies, in liberating the European peoples from the fascist slavery, and in saving international civilization. The country of Great October carried out with honor its national and international duties. During the difficult postwar years the Soviet people were able in the shortest possible time to heal the wounds of war, and rebuild the economy. As a result of the deep-rooted changes in all walks of life, socialism was totally and finally triumphant. Our country is the first country to

complete the practical realization of socialism. Authority is in the hands of the toilers; means of production belong to society. The Land of the Soviets in the course of 70 years forged a road which would have taken other nations centuries to forge.

The first nuclear power station in the world was built in the Soviet Union. The first satellite in the world was launched by the Soviet Union. The first man in space was a citizen of the Soviet Union. But the road for the pioneers was not easy. From the end of the seventies until the beginning of the eighties, stagnant and dull tendencies were evident inside our society as a result of the presence of [words indistinct] factors. Difficulties and unsolved problems began to accumulate—in other words, strange phenomena as far as socialism is concerned.

Our party adopted a policy of removing such problems. At the 27th CPSU Congress, an international strategy was adopted—a strategy for (?speeding up) the social and economic development of the country during the period up to the year 2000. The basis for implementing this strategy is a radical reconstruction of all aspects of life of society. The reconstruction—or in Russian "perestroyka"—has become known and understood in many countries of the world. It means dependence on the real creativity of the masses for the development of democracy in all aspects, and socialist self-management and the [word indistinct] of discipline and work [words indistinct] and self-criticism in all aspects of society. It also means meeting more and more of the Soviet people's needs for good conditions for work and leisure, education, and health services. It also means permanent care for the (?spiritual) revolution and with education for every individual and the [words indistinct] society. The final aim of reconstruction is the revolutionary renewal of all aspects of life of the country and to provide socialism with the most modern forms of social organization. More socialism and more democracy — this is the essence of reconstruction.

At the present time, this process is being extended in various directions. Its initial results can now be seen in our society, but they are the first steps: They have broad prospects. This huge task requires Soviet people to have peaceful conditions. Peace and socialism are indivisible. The more socialist forces, the firmer peace we have. The peace policy is the main line of the Soviet state. The great Lenin drew up this policy for our people and party. It is not necessary for me to stress here the great efforts which the Soviet Union has made and is still making for securing peace (?in our world). The peaceful Soviet initiatives are well-known. Our country strives for a comprehensive international security system. [words indistinct] of this program is the statement made by Comrade Gorbachev on 15 January 1986, and his article entitled: The Realism of Secure Peace and Its Guarantees." Also there was the proposal of the member states of the Warsaw Pact for the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe.

The Soviet leadership proceeds from the point of view that the struggle for peace and the establishment of the international security system is a vital issue of all countries and peoples because there is a real danger to the existence of mankind. We are convinced that the comprehensive security system provides also the key for solving territorial conflicts. The Soviet Union supports the ratification of the new [word indistinct] of international affairs and for carrying out reconstruction in this sphere. The automatic guarantee of security has become above all a political task and not a military task. This is because it is not possible to guarantee security if other states find themselves in constant danger. Thanks to our country's principled policy, and its consistent efforts it has become possible to get important results for limiting the means of nuclear destruction. During the past 2 months, agreement was reached between the Soviet Union and the United States on the removal of medium-range and tactical missiles. Discussions continue with regard to the problem of reducing strategic offensive weapons. All these are realistic steps in the direction of eliminating the all nuclear weapons [words indistinct] before the year 2000, according to the Soviet Union's proposal.

Esteemed friends, against the implementation of the tangible steps leading to the guaranteeing of peace, imperialist propaganda is intensifying its efforts in order to misrepresent the essence and the aims of Soviet foreign policy. At the same time, this imperialist propaganda aims at casting doubts on the Soviet Union's desire and capability to support its friends abroad, and its support for the peoples's struggle for national and social liberation. This propaganda aims at driving a wedge into the relations between the Soviet Union and the developing countries. In this connection, I would like to point out that, as in the past, the Soviet Union everywhere stands by the forces of peace, democracy and liberation, and pursues a principled policy aimed at supporting the peoples' struggle against imperialism, colonialism and reaction.

One of the categorical proofs of this is the Soviet Union's stance in support of the just struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression and against the continuous attempts to impose on them unilateral and anti-Arab solutions. My country stands for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question and the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people and their right to their own independent sovereign state. The Soviet Union believes that it is possible to attain all that with joint efforts. A not inconsiderable amount of work has so far been done towards this end, but we have great hopes for putting this hope into practice.

I would also like to mention the development of Soviet-Libyan relations, which have developed well in recent years, especially after the visit of Brother Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Libyan Revolution, to the Soviet Union in 1985 and his meetings with Comrade

Gorbachev, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee. The continuous contacts between them through exchanges of personal messages are very important.

We sympathize deeply with the Libyan revolutionary people and support their struggle against the continuous attempts of the imperialist forces aimed at eliminating the achievements of the Al-Fatih Revolution.

Libyan friends, you remember very well that the Soviet Union stood firmly against the U.S. aggression against Libya in April of last year and you know that our country gave necessary support to friendly Libya regarding the latest imperialist intrigues which it faces on Libya's southern borders.

Cooperation between our two countries in the political, economic, scientific, technological and cultural fields is developing very well.

We are experiencing a very important process of mutual acquaintance of our two peoples in various aspects of each other's lives, for the deepening of understanding, cooperation, and solidarity in the common struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and reaction, and supporting the struggling peoples.

In our opinion, our two countries are working in the same direction with regard to international issues and the struggle against the danger of nuclear war, for the sake of peace and security of people; and the tangible contribution of our two countries to bettering the destiny of all mankind is an important factor for the deepening of cooperation between our two countries.

In conclusion, please permit me to convey to the friendly Libyan people and its revolutionary leadership best wishes for prosperity and success in the struggle to bolster the achievements of the Al-Fatih Revolution. Thank you for your attention. Peace be with you.

'Arafat Gives Moscow News Conference

PM101241 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 87 p 3

[S. Butkov report under the general heading "Moscow Press Conferences"]

[Text] Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and supreme commander in chief of the Palestinian revolutionary armed forces, also held a press conference yesterday at the press center named for the 70th Anniversary of Great October.

Soviet-Palestinian relations, Y. 'Arafat said in particular, have always been friendly. We have always made a high assessment of the firm position adopted by the Soviet Government with regard to the Palestinian problem.

Answering a question about the situation within the PLO, Y. 'Arafat stressed that the recent Palestine National Council session in Algiers had demonstrated the organization's unity and cohesion.

The PLO is now preparing to hold an international conference on the Near East with the participation of the USSR, the United States, and all permanent members of the UN Security Council, along with all interested parties on an equal basis with the PLO.

Arabs have no differences over the convening of such a conference, Y. 'Arafat stressed. Before coming to Moscow, he said, I visited 17 Arab states. The agenda for an international meeting was discussed with the leaders of these countries. The idea of organizing it was supported by the peace-loving public. However, the United States and Israel oppose convening such a conference.

Y. 'Arafat gave his impressions of the USSR. A real revolution is taking place in the Soviet Union, he said. New thinking is clearing the way toward society's development and promoting the strengthening of world peace.

Honecker, Ceausescu, Krunic at Exhibit

PM091229 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 87 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Stay in Moscow"]

[Excerpts] Delegations from a number of socialist countries, in Moscow in connection with the anniversary festivities, visited the USSR National Economic Achievements Exhibition 6 November. [passage omitted]

On the same day, the all-union art exhibition "The Land of the Soviets," which has been mounted in the Central Exhibition Hall, was visited by the GDR party and state delegation headed by E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; the Romanian delegation headed by N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of Romania; and the SFRY delegation headed by B. Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The guests were accompanied by V.P. Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.K. Antonov and G.G. Vedernikov, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; and other officials.

Political & Social

Yeltsin Relieved for 'Major Shortcomings'

LD111916 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—A plenary meeting of the Moscow City CPSU Committee was held today. It was addressed by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. Twenty four persons spoke in the discussion.

The plenary meeting unanimously approved the results of the October 1987 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the provisions and conclusions outlined in Mikhail Gorbachev's reports at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and the meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The participants in the plenary meeting of the City Party Committee stated the firm support by Muscovites of the activity of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the party's course of restructuring and accelerating the country's social and economic development.

The plenary meeting of the Moscow City Party Committee fully approved the resolution of the October 1987 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee which qualified the speech made by Boris Yeltsin at it as politically erroneous. The plenary meeting relieved Boris Yeltsin of his duties of first secretary and member of the Bureau of the Moscow City Party Committee for major shortcomings in his leadership of the Moscow City Party organisation.

The plenary meeting unanimously elected Lev Zaykov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the post of first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee.

Yegor Ligachev and Georgiy Razumovskiy took part in the work of the plenary meeting of the Moscow City CPSU Committee.

Zaykov Replaces Yeltsin

LD112112 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] There was a plenum of the Moscow Gorkom today. The plenum was addressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Speaking in the debate were the following comrades: Kosyrev-Dal, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of the Interior's Academy; Prokofyev, secretary of Moscow Gorispolkom; Matveyev, administrator of affairs of the USSR Foreign Ministry; Zharov, deputy chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom; (Zemskov), first secretary of Voroshilovskiy Raykom; (Seminikhin), general designer of a research institute; (Golovskov), first secretary of Kirovskiy Raykom; Nikolayev, first secretary of the Baumanskiy Raykom; (Konyukhova), first secretary of the Zheleznodorozhnyy Raykom; Zheltov, first secretary of Krasnogvardeyskiy Raykom; Zhukova, first secretary of Zhdanovskiy Raykom; Skitev, head of the department of party organizational work of the Moscow Gorkom; Larionov, chief of the Main Directorate of Vocational and Technical Education in the city of Moscow; Nizovtseva, secretary of the Moscow Gorkom; Karabasov, secretary of Moscow Gorkom; Protopopov, a professor on the Economics Faculty of Moscow's Lomonosov State University; Vasilyev, first secretary of Pervomayskiy Raykom; Sablin, head of the main Directorate for Roads in Moscow; Logunov, rector of Moscow's Lomonosov State University; Kislova, first secretary of the Sverdlovskiy Raykom; Yeliseyev, rector of Moscow's Bauman Higher Technical College; Belyakov, second secretary of the Moscow Gorkom; Vinogradov, first secretary of the Sovetskiy Raykom; and Yeltsin.

The plenum unanimously approved the results of the October 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the tenets and conclusions set out in Comrade Gorbachev's reports at the Central Committee plenum, and at the festive session of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviets dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Participants in the gorkom plenum stated the firm support of Muscovites for the actions of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the party's course toward restructuring and acceleration of the country's social and economic development.

The plenum of the Moscow Gorkom fully approved the decision of the October 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that deemed the speech there by Yeltsin to be politically erroneous. The plenum released Yeltsin from the post of first secretary and member of the Moscow Gorkom Buro for major shortcomings committed in leadership of the Moscow Gorkom organization.

The plenum unanimously elected Comrade Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom.

Taking part in the work of the Gorkom plenum were Comrades Ligachev and Razumovskiy. An account of the Gorkom plenum will be published in the press.

Biographical Data on Zaykov

LD111945 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—Lev Zaykov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, was born on April 3, 1923 in Tula, Central Russia. He is Russian.

Lev Zaykov's first job was that of a metal worker at a plant in Leningrad in 1940. In 1952 he graduated from the Leningrad Electromechanical Technicum (junior college) and in 1963 from the Leningrad Engineering and Economics Institute. He became a member of the CPSU in 1957.

In 1961-1974 he was director of a plant and director general of a production amalgamation. In 1974 he became director general of a research and production amalgamation.

In 1976-1983 he was chairman of the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Soviet of People's Deputies and from June 1983 - first secretary of the Leningrad Regional CPSU Committee.

At the 26th and 27th Congresses of the CPSU Lev Zaykov was elected member of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the July 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee he was elected secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and at the March 1986 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee he was elected a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee.

CPSU CC Resolution on Vladimir Oblast

PM111145 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee. The CPSU Central Committee Has Examined the Question 'On Glasnost in the Work of Party and Trade Union Organizations and Soviet Organs in Vladimir Oblast'"]

[Text] In examining the question of glasnost in the work of party and trade union organizations and soviet organs in Vladimir Oblast, the CPSU Central Committee noted that the atmosphere of truthfulness and openness created since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress has become more stable in the oblast. The information provided to Communists and all working people on the work of party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms and of ispolkoms on the state of affairs in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres is expanding.

At the same time the Vladimir party obkom, party and trade union organizations, and soviet organs have not yet achieved any tangible results in restructuring, democratization, or production and sociopolitical life. New approaches in tune with the demands of the time are being assimilated only slowly in political work and organizational and ideological activity. Glasnost in the oblast has not yet become the leading means of galvanizing the human factor in the restructuring process and resolving current problems concerning working people's interests.

The oblast's economic and social development is being conducted at a slow pace. One in every four enterprises has failed to fulfill the labor productivity growth plan, while one in every three has failed to fulfill the plan for contractual deliveries. On the whole the oblast's industry has failed to eliminate the lag permitted since the start of the year. The Food Program is being implemented unsatisfactorily. The housing problem remains acute, even though the plans for the commissioning of housing are being fulfilled. Only one-third of the planned clubs has been built. There have been numerous complaints from the population about the poor standard of medical services. The oblast lags behind republic indicators in terms of 17 types of consumer services.

The oblast party organization has not made a substantive switch in developing intraparty democracy and, first and foremost, in enhancing the role of plenums and party meetings as organs of collective leadership. The absence of the necessary glasnost in questions of the release and reassignment of leading workers leads to serious failings in cadre policy. Almost one in three party gorkom and raykom secretaries in the oblast were replaced in 1986, and the figure is one in five for the first 6 months of this year. Leaders of soviet and economic organs are changed with the same frequency. Most cadre reassignments take place without in-depth explanations, the eradication of the reasons that gave rise to the move, or consultation with a wide range of people.

The oblast essentially undervalues such an important means of educating Communists and democratizing society as control from "below"—control stemming from working people—and, above all, such an effective form of control as systematic reports to labor collectives and the population by all elected and appointed officials. The number of such reports in the oblast is not only not growing but is even diminishing in a number of places.

There is a continuing tendency in the oblast party organization to hush up shortcomings and skim over acute areas. An extensive and open struggle against bureaucratism and wage leveling is to all intents and purposes lacking. Trenchant public assessments are not made of instances of overreporting in state reports. Labor collectives and the public are not encouraged to eradicate these phenomena that are alien to socialism.

Certain party and trade union committees and soviet organs are in no hurry to eradicate stagnation phenomena, they display dependence and lack of initiative, and turn a political deaf ear to people's needs. This practice often gives rise to social tension, creates conflict situations, and directly affects the prestige of the party and Soviet power.

The CPSU obkom bureau still lacks genuine party collectivism, high exactingness, and comradely demandingness. Certain bureau members are passive in working out and implementing adopted decisions.

The press is being restructured only slowly. Many rayon newspapers lack critical analysis of the state of affairs locally and rarely feature articles by workers, kolkhoz members, or specialists. Party committees fail to make the proper demands on journalist cadres or encourage them to write principled and bold articles and engage in independent thinking.

The CPSU Central Committee drew the attention of the Vladimir party obkom, its bureau, and First Secretary Comrade R.S. Bobovikov to the poor work to assert glasnost and the democratization of the activity of the oblast's party and trade union organizations, soviet organs, and the management apparatus.

It is incumbent upon the CPSU obkom, the oblispolkom, and the oblast trade union council to utilize the expansion of glasnost for the purpose of deepening restructuring, accelerating socioeconomic progress, and involving the masses in the revolutionary renewal of all spheres of social life. The expansion of glasnost must, without fail, be accompanied by raising the standard of work by collectives and their cadres and improving the conditions of people's work and life.

The resolution notes that the CPSU Central Committee perceives glasnost as an instrument for shaping political and labor activeness and boosting the keen creativity of the masses. It is incumbent upon party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol, and economic organs in Vladimir Oblast to persistently master the various modern methods of economic management in conditions of expanding democracy, and to utilize the opportunities offered by the transition to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet], self-financing, and self-capitalizing to inculcate in people the feeling of being in charge and of personal responsibility for the state of affairs in the collective. The constant study and consideration of public opinion on the efficiency of the work of organs of power in the course of restructuring must become part and parcel of the practical work of party and soviet organs. The results ought to be widely publicized and be subject to mandatory consideration in management and in cadre policy.

The CPSU Central Committee perceives glasnost as a most important prerequisite for the broad involvement of citizens in management, the collective analysis of the state of affairs at local level, and for ensuring maximum democratization of the process of elaborating, adopting, and implementing decisions by organs of power and management.

The aim of glasnost and criticism must be to finally demolish the braking mechanism, to eradicate bureaucratism, departmentalism, parochialism, the stereotypes of dogmatic thinking, and cliquishness, and to give utmost support to everything that is progressive and consolidates the socialist economy, ideology, and morals.

The assertion of an atmosphere of democratism and glasnost, the CPSU Central Committee resolution emphasizes, demands radical improvement of the style of party work and comprehensive development of internal party democracy.

For the purpose of strengthening political leadership and ensuring Communists' vanguard role in asserting the policy of glasnost, the CPSU Central Committee made it incumbent upon the Vladimir CPSU Obkom, the party gorkoms and raykoms, and the oblast's primary party organizations:

To improve the practice of preparing and holding conferences, plenums, bureau sessions, and party meetings; to create conditions for effective participation in party committee bureau sessions by members of the appropriate elected organs, and to enhance the role and responsibility of the party aktiv and of every Communist in the solution of questions concerning the life of party organizations, the restructuring of their activity, and the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of cities, rayons, and labor collectives;

In the struggle for the pure and honest image of party members, to ensure broad practical participation by labor collectives in the molding of new recruits to the party ranks, to expand the practice of public accountability reports by Communists, especially those in leadership positions, on the fulfillment of statutory obligations, and to ensure that these reports are models of high demandingness and party principledness;

In work with cadres, to more boldly apply democratic methods such as competitive [konkursnyye] principles, electiveness, certification, an open approach to forming the cadre reserve, and more comprehensive discussion by collectives' party meetings of the business and moral qualities of persons recommended for leadership work;

To decisively rebuff attempts to exploit the expansion of democracy for the propaganda of extremist sentiments, the weakening of discipline, and the defamation of cadres;

To ensure objectivity in party information and to block any attempts to embellish actual reality or conceal shortcomings and mistakes in party and social practices;

To assert openness of actions, criticism, and self-criticism as conditions for the healthy development of the party and the entire Soviet society, bearing in mind that their absence inevitably leads to increased passiveness and irresponsibility, manifestations of political arrogance, and moral degeneration, creates the prerequisites for flouting individual rights and freedoms and violating social justice, and engenders ugly phenomena such as unprincipledness, anonymous letters, and slander.

The expansion of glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism, the resolution says, must lead to the pooling of all of society's creative and constructive energies for the purpose of successfully implementing the fundamental socioeconomic transformations laid down in the strategic directives of the 27th CPSU Congress.

It is necessary to resolutely oppose those who strive to exploit the atmosphere of openness and glasnost for social demagoguery and the achievement of their selfish goals to the detriment of social interests. Perverted ideas of democracy must be fought with its main weapon—glasnost and public criticism of views that are alien to us and of their carriers.

The CPSU Central Committee expressed confidence that an efficiently operating system of glasnost in the center and at local level will provide the most important guarantee for the successful revolutionary renewal of society and the mobilization of Soviet people in their millions—the genuine masters of their country and the heirs of Great October's cause—in the process of restructuring.

Vorotnikov Interviewed on Restructuring

LD110949 Prague CTK in English 0825 GMT 11 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 11 (CTK)—A senior Soviet official was today quoted by the Czechoslovak Communist Party daily *Rude Pravo* as saying democratization was a major prerequisite to the restructuring drive pursued by the Soviet leadership.

Vitaliy Vorotnikov, Communist Party Politburo member and prime minister of the Russian Federation, said: "Democratization is one of the most significant and necessary preconditions of restructuring, its engine, substance and the best guarantee."

Vorotnikov, who was interviewed by *Rude Pravo* Editor-in-Chief Zdenek Horeni at the start of a "Russian Federation Days" festival in Prague, said there existed a direct link between democratization efforts and the process of radical economic reforms under way in the Soviet Union.

"It can be said we are now making the greatest leap on the path of the development of socialist democracy in the past seventy years," he said.

But he said the process had encountered "certain difficulties and opposition, sometimes unexpected", naming bureaucracy, indifferent directive management and doubts and indecisiveness as the chief obstacles.

It was necessary to develop a mechanism that would allow the masses to take an active part in the management of state and social affairs, and continue a practical course in democracy to overcome the barriers, Vorotnikov said.

Asked whether the practice of "glasnost" (openness) has already found its way into the political structure of the Russian Republic, he said the "glasnost" principles "have been increasingly evident in the methods of work of a number of local soviets", and noted more extensive and critical media coverage of important domestic political events and a growing number of open debates on political and economic issues.

But he said possibilities still existed for a broader introduction of "glasnost" into the public life. "To put it shortly, the atmosphere of (glasnost) requires permanent support and an exploration of new forms and methods of informing the public," he said.

Vorotnikov said "glasnost" had already left its mark also in the field of environmental protection as official decisions were now largely influenced by the outcome of public discussions on major issues.

He named halting a project to divert northward-flowing rivers to southern regions in the European part of the Republic, environmental protection measures launched to save Ladoga, Onega, Ilmen and Baykal Lakes, and closing of numerous plants polluting the environment as examples of the new course.

More than 37,000 million rubles had been spent on environmental protection in the past seven years, river pollution by industrial waste had been cut 2.5 times over the past twelve years, and toxic emissions had dropped significantly in over 200 cities and industrial centres, Vorotnikov said.

Deputy Estonian Premier Removed From Post

LD102034 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 28 Oct 87

[Excerpts] On 27 October, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau examined the state plan for economic and social development in the Estonian SSR and the draft Estonian SSR budget for 1988. [passage omitted] The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Buro discussed the abolition of permits for the citizens of our republic visiting the border zone on the territory of the Estonian SSR. As from 1 January 1988, citizens may visit the border zone using their passports which denote permanent residence in Estonian SSR. [passage omitted]

The bureau approved the appointment of Leo Urge to the post of Estonian SSR procurator, relieving Karl Kimmel from this post in connection with his retirement on pension.

Because of unworthy behavior which manifested itself in a gross violation of traffic regulations and as a result of which a pedestrian was injured, Petr Mel'nik was relieved form his duties as a deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers.

Pentecostalist To Be Allowed To Emigrate

LD091604 Hamburg DPA in German 1414 GMT 9 Oct 87

[Text] Frankfurt (DPA)—For the first time, a prisoner in Siberia has been allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union to the Federal Republic, together with his wife and four children. The family's father, (Gennadiy Maydanyuk), from the Siberian town of Chuguyevka was arrested in 1985. He is to leave the USSR "before the end of this week." The International Society for Human Rights (IGFM), based in Frankfurt, announced this today.

Maydanyuk applied to emigrate as a member of the Protestant Pentacostal Church in Chuguyevka and was sentenced to 12 months in a penal camp for his religious beliefs. Maydanyuk (38) will come to the Federal Republic after serving his sentence, along with his 28-year-old wife, as well as his children, Friedrich, Heinrich, Eduard, and Olger. The IGFM reports that there are still eight members of the Pentacostal community of the Eastern Siberian town in custody.

'Resistance of Conservative Forces' Scored

PM111513 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Party Organizations and Restructuring—More Efficiency, More Democracy, More Organization and Discipline"]

[Text] As the Soviet land enters the decisive stage of restructuring in greater depth and on a larger scale, so the more the success of the revolutionary renewal of all spheres of our life depends and will continue to depend on the energy, purposefulness, and strength of example set by the Leninist party. A party which has initiated transformations and shouldered the most heavy burden of work. A party which now includes in its ranks almost 20 million fighters—one-tenth of the country's adult population, a tremendous force. But a great responsibility, too.

"The growth in the party's role is an objective process," M.S. Gorbachev's report to the ceremonial session dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution noted. "But that role is determined least of all by words or formal rituals. It is determined by the depth and honesty of analysis and assessments, by well-considered policy and resolute actions, and by the ability to correlate the general and the particular, the social and the individual, the immediate and the long term. It consists in raising the responsibility of all the party's organizations and each Communist for the course of affairs in society."

Thus the radical improvement of the activity of party organizations and their leading organs and cadres is becoming the paramount task of the present day. Genuine, really profound, and all-embracing restructuring is impossible without a decisive breakthrough in the work of each party organization. Life demonstrates that where this has been successfully achieved, where party leaders and Communists have aroused the masses' initiative and independent action, where they are taking the path of democratization and glasnost, where scope is being given to the new forms of labor organization and incentive, and where there is concern for the satisfaction of people's needs, it is there that things are going well.

A convincing example of this is provided by the fruitful work of many party organizations in Belorussia. The republic's Communists are experimenting boldly in the economy and the social sphere. Furthermore, it is important to note here that we are not talking about "innovations" produced in secret and designed for outward effect but about planned and purposeful efforts based on labor collectives' initiative and experience and people's interests and needs. This, in fact, also determines success. It is no coincidence that this republic, which has never been renowned for the particular fertility of its land, is producing harvests some other regions, even rich chernozem regions, can only envy at present. Such facts as the constant attention to the provision of amenities in cities and villages, well-organized [neplokho postavlennoye] supply, and the lack of queues speak for themselves.

Much is changing for the better in the activity of Kazakhstan's republic party organization, too. While persistently removing step by step the accretions of the time of stagnation, the party organization there is also finding ways and ensuring breakthroughs aimed at accelerating the solution of important social and ideological problems. It was such a breakthrough which ensured the success of the preferential implementation of housing construction plans. Measures have been planned and are being implemented to improve patriotic and internationalist education in the republic.

Quite a few examples of that kind can be cited. Of course, there are still quite a few shortcomings and difficult problems in the work of the party organizations named above, but what is important is the very approach which precludes a return to the old way; what are important are the firm political will and the orientation toward change. That orientation also determines the moral and psychological atmosphere in the country as a

whole. The party has succeeded in considerably increasing people's activeness, their interest in social affairs, and in raising the level of exactingness, criticism, self-criticism, and glasnost. The preconditions have been created for real changes in working people's thinking and attitudes. At the plants and construction sites, on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and in scientific research collectives there is an intensive search under way for new forms of labor organization and remuneration. People are becoming more exacting toward themselves and toward leaders and specialists, they are speaking out more boldly against mismanagement and irresponsibility and showing understanding for the need to improve discipline, efficiency, and labor quality.

The main thing for party organizations and Communists now is to comprehensively support and develop this mood, to increase the pace and scale of renewal, and to more boldly overcome the bureaucratic obstacles on this path. All this is acquiring exceptionally great and, it may be said, decisive significance now, in the new stage of restructuring, when it is necessary to simultaneously resolve large-scale tasks in the economy, in the social sphere, in the restructuring of state and social management, and in ideology and culture. Now life itself, like an impartial "extradepartmental" monitor, will check our ideas and plans, our approaches and work methods in terms of their concrete results. This stern examination, this test of maturity, responsibility, and militancy applies to every party organization and every party member.

At the same time it cannot be overlooked that in a number of cities, rayons, oblasts, and even some republics real restructuring has still not begun. This is the direct result of the political and organizational sluggishness and lack of initiative of party committees and their leaders. Nor can one fail to note a definite stiffening of resistance on the part of conservative forces who regard restructuring as a threat to their selfish interests and aims. But how much must be done to instill in people a taste for independence and responsibility in their approach to production and social affairs! How difficult it is for some workers, including those in postitions of responsibility, to overcome the long-outmoded canons and prohibitions, how hard it is to escape the bonds of formalism and excessive organization, and the rules and instructions which impede the cause! The fear "no good will come of it" is still lodged in many people's consciousness and still governs their decisions and actions.

Here too there arises time and again in all its urgency the question of the mastery by all party organizations and all our cadres of the culture of socialist democracy. After all, it is precisely the lack of that culture which is connected to a large extent with such persistent vices as bureaucracy, the abuse of power, deference to rank, mismanagement, and irresponsibility. A true culture of democracy accepts neither the style based on commands and "pressure" nor organizational woolliness and the replacement of real work by empty talk.

All the threads of restructuring lead ultimately to the primary party organizations, which we rightly call the basis of the party and the political nucleus of the collective. Experience shows that it is their political will, activeness, cohesion, and initiative which determine above all the course of the transformations within labor collectives, the ability to inspire and mobilize people and to achieve concrete results in improving things.

Quite a lot has been done in the initial stage of renewal. But the main work is yet to come. It must be openly acknowledged that the potential of the party's influence and impact on restructuring is still not being fully utilized. Preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference should provide a major impetus for improving this complex and painstaking work. The reports by party committees and bureaus on the course of restructuring delivered at the plenums and meetings of Communists now getting under way are an important and responsible stage on the path toward it. They must all provide a militant and exacting review of all links of the party and their readiness to resolutely and unswervingly follow the course of the 27th CPSU Congress and the road of revolutionary transformations and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

But the key to success and the victory slogan among Communists today are the same: More efficiency, more democracy and glasnost, more organization and discipline!

Ministerial Redundancy Problems Examined

PM111101 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Nov 87 pp 2-3

[A. Kurbatov "Reportage from the Commission for Job Placement of workers made redundant by the merger of two ministries": "'Your Job Is Being Abolished...'"]

[Text] Moscow—On the building of the former Ministry of Power Machine Building there is a new nameplate—Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building. The nameplate on the building of the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building has also changed. There were two ministries, now there is only one. As a result, 680 people have received dismissal notices...

And the turn of others will come: The staff of all industrial ministries is to be reduced by 50% by 1990. Around 60,000 people will have to leave their customary places of work. Moscow is buzzing—the problem is being discussed at home, at work, in the metro. Where can such an army of engineers and office workers be redeployed? During these discussions and polemics devoted to immediate concerns, the main point is sometimes missed—what is the reason for the cuts?

The inflated staffing is a consequence of management by administrative edict. The situation has reached a point where around 18 million of the country's people are

currently employed in administration, or 15% of the labor force, that is, one administrator for every 6-7 workers. The huge pyramid of the administrative apparatus represents a considerable cadre reserve, especially since according to demographic forecasts manpower resources growth is declining.

"All this is true," the ministries' employees told me, "but..." This is where it all began.

Most people believe that their dismissal is unjust. Take Nadezhda P., for instance. She is 28, an energetic and efficient woman:

"Let someone else go. I will not take a cut from R220 to R180 in the job which I have been offered. I simply will not go. I was on the management of a major combine harvester plant acting as a mediator between the plant and its 150 client enterprises under the jurisdiction of three ministries."

I am listening to the young woman and I am thinking about the different interpretation of facts: To a person with 10 years of schooling it may seem that she was managing a vast army of specialists. In the cadre department I was told: "She had to type and dispatch mountains of papers. In this work her quick hands were indispensable. That is all the 'management' she did."

"Don't mention my name," another young engineer asked me, "there is a chance that I may be allowed to stay. But it is necessary to remove all those who are allowed to stay as a result of telephone calls from 'above.' And there are such people. For instance, Ms V.N.G. Her father works at the Council of Ministers..."

There was nothing for it, this had to be checked out. The following facts emerged: Ms G. is a nonparty person with higher education, a mechanical engineer by profession, and has worked at the ministry for the past 14 years (incidentally, the person who told me about her has 1 year of service...). Everyone spoke positively about Ms G. What about her father at the Council of Ministers? It emerged that he retired long ago; that he does not live in Moscow; and that he never worked at the Council of Ministers but had been an ambulance service doctor all his life...

I cannot say that everyone is behaving in this way. But there are people who are trying to "torpedo" the administration's decisions by using underhand methods.

Others prefer to fight for their seat in the ministry openly: They besiege the party committee, the trade union, they write letters to high places, they send complaints to the commission for job placement which is headed by Deputy Minister A. Lazarev. Around 50 complaints have already been examined. These complaints are understandable, of course.

I attended the commission's latest session. Another 6 complaints were to be examined that day.

Nina Nikolayevna M-K:

"I returned from vacation and there was a surprise waiting for me: 'You are dismissed.' How can this be? I am a single mother, and I have higher education..."

It turns out that Nina Nikolayevna was warned about the cuts before she went on vacation. More than that, they even found her a job as a bookkeeper near her home.

"But they only pay R170!" Nina Nikolayevna wrings her hands. "I must be allowed to stay!"

Alas, this cannot be. Then comes the unpleasant bit, the discussion of her professional qualities. They are not rated highly: She is slow and lacks initiative...

"But I have never refused to do anything!," the woman persists. "I was appointed an agitator and I did not argue. I regularly visited the vegetable base. I am warning you, I will complain!"

One of the administration chiefs chips in:

"If you do not want the job you have been offered, let our people have it!"

"No!" and the woman leaves.

Later I found out that she did call at the establishment where a job was offered her. But she tried to negotiate: "Couldn't you pay me more, after all I will be coming to you from the ministry..." This is not a good argument, of course, but the material situation of a single parent must be taken into account.

Lyudmila Petrovna F-A.

She came to the commission fully armed with documents, official papers, excerpts from instructions. There was no question about the fact that she is an excellent worker. "Simply, the number of specialists responsible for the enhancement of workers' qualifications is being reduced in the ministry."

"Allow me at least to continue working in the sector!"

After Lyudmila Petrovna's departure the members of the commission discussed the matter. They all agreed that a job at the sector scientific research institute would be most suitable for her.

Zinaida Vasilevna Sokolova enters the room. It is really annoying to have been on the waiting list for an apartment for so many years and to have to leave just when your turn has almost come! Furthermore, and the members of the commission agree on this, she is a skilled worker. However, the section where she is working is

being cut by 50%. After a brief consultation the commission decides that her job has to be cut but that the housing question should be resolved positively.

The commission has been sitting for about 2 hours, allowing approximately 30 minutes for every case. The people submitting complaints are very different, some behave calmly, others are in tears. But on the whole the atmosphere does not get white hot. It does not resemble in the least the atmosphere which prevailed in a similar situation at the Ministry of Foreign Trade when an ambulance had to be called...

There is another caller. Mikhail Alekseyevich Kulagin. He has been here before. At that time his question could not be resolved, some papers were missing. He is being switched to a sector enterprise on the same pay. A high pay, it must be added. Now all the documents are to hand and a decision is passed quickly.

"Excellent," the satisfied Mikhail Alekseyevich says, "I have been idle for 2 months."

Unfortunately, no one of those present in the office of the deputy minister says anything about the fact that he should have been working instead of being idle. This is being kind at the state's expense.

Chiefs of administrations and sections have in general closed their eyes to the fact that many people under the pretext of looking for a job have essentially neglected their immediate duties. Those who are staying behind now have to work twice and three times as hard. No one is telling the absentees off. Everyone wants peace. But maybe we should not ignore the relevant resolutions and documents which state that the transitional period does not exempt people from their duties. Their wages have to be earned.

The consultation ends. "Do you have any questions," I.A. Lazarev asks me. I take the opportunity and address myself to those present:

"Many people are criticizing the system under which the candidates for the cuts are being chosen. People are not satisfied with the decisions of the 'triad'—department or main administration chiefs, party group secretaries, and trade union bureau chairmen. What criteria do you apply?"

"First," they tell me, "professional qualities. Second, education. And third, everything else—age, family status, moral qualities, and so forth."

Is this system perfect? Probably not. Is it not possible to discuss such complex and delicate questions more democratically?

No, it is not! This is the general opinion. Why? The leaders take the view that such discussions could go too far. Can you cite any examples? "No, but can't you imagine how a collective which no one wants to leave voluntarily might behave?" they ask me.

I don't, and in my opinion they don't either—they merely present their assumptions as knowledge. There is just one thing which I do not like in the leaders' attitude. It boils down to my distrust of decisions taken behind closed doors. No one wants to feel like a "lead soldier" who is being moved by the "generals" from place to place. The closed doors and the secrecy—this is what is causing the tense atmosphere. They agree with me, but at the same time they argue: We will have to work with those whom we select. And it is we who will be made responsible if the targets are not met!

It is difficult to deny this, and there is no need to. The workload of those who are staying on at the ministry is increasing. What is needed are true professionals. However, it seems to me that even this argument is not enough to reject the idea of discussing the choices for the cuts openly. Let the "triad" decide in the first instance. But afterward it should be possible to face the collective and publicly substantiate the choices. A job is a job and facts rather than emotions are what ultimately matters. A discussion is necessary if only for the reason that people have grounds for dissatisfaction. According to colleagues at the former Ministry of Power Machine Building, it is wrong to dismiss Emma Vasilevna Salova, for instance.

"She is a most valuable worker," S. Smirnov, chairman of the main production administration trade union committee, says, "a selfless person, totally devoted to the job. She knows her work like a god. She ought to be kept on. The sector will lose an excellent specialist."

The chairman of the trade union committee, the chief of the administration, and the secretary of the party organization laid out their opinion in a letter sent to A. Lazarev. They asked that Salova remain. Particularly as she was only being replaced by a young, albeit quite good, specialist with secondary specialized education. Alas, the "triad" has not yet received a reply to their request—does this mean that decisions are sometimes made without them?

...Being the first one is always difficult. But the experience of the two ministries can prove useful to others. Not everything happens at once. There may well be mistakes and oversights. But they must be examined calmly, soberly, and democratically. The ultimate goal must be kept in sight. When leaving a particular worker in a ministry or cutting one department or another it would be a good thing to reckon up at the same time what benefit will ensue. Haste may lead to one very soon having to... again expand staff numbers.

I held a conversation on this theme with staffers in the Ministry of Power Machine Building Main Administration for Material and Technical Supply and Equipment Requirements. Their sense of injury is understandable: Their numbers are being halved just like the subdivision concerned with the enterprises' subsidiary plots. "But the poor supply service," I was told, "is the main brake on scientific and technical progress. Everything—intersectorial ties, economic accountability [khozraschet], and enterprise independence—depends on its work... The service must be strengthened rather than weakened. After, of course, the uncommitted, of whom there is no shortage there, have been gotten rid of..."

I listened to my interlocutors and thought that it is probably for no good reason that the leadership (and not only in the ministries!) has little faith in the opinion of rank-and-file workers. The engineers from the boiler-making administration, for example, think that the structure of the new ministry should have been discussed at a meeting of the aktiv, the leaders elected by secret ballot after people had heard out their future programs, and then the executives recruited; even a "triad," but without undue secrecy. The process of staff cuts will not then be so painful.

The following opinion assessing the situation as awhole is particularly important. It was expressed by Gennadiy Alekseyevich Gordeyev—a talented engineer and good organizer whose standing in the former Ministry of Power Machine Building was very high. I would like to relate in detail my conversation with him. Efforts were made to persuade him to remain in the ministry, but he decided to leave voluntarily. Why?

"First, I wanted to be closer to production," he said. "I go to the plant to work. Second, I came to the decision to leave after soberly analyzing the situation. In the department where I could have stayed there is already a sound specialist. We are both leaders by character. But he is is in his fifties, whereas I am forty. I have got lots of energy and am not afraid of changes—consequently, I had to go.

"I am upset by what is now happening in the ministry. There have been 3 months of talk and rumor, but no real work. The structure of the sector's new staff was confirmed 3 months after the well-known decree, but the ministry was forced to begin the cuts earlier. Our mistake should be a lesson to others."

But now for the most difficult question: Where to send this army of specialists? Are we ready for large-scale regroupings of the work force? Not very, in my opinion. Personnel officers are not envied nowadays. They have to shoulder the difficult task of finding work for everyone who leaves. But the Moscow employment service has had few vacancies on offer. People have generally looked for themselves, calling colleagues and enterprises in the capital, taken out of the directory. It was simpler with the subordinate enterprises. The Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, for example, sent details there of proposed redundancies and very quickly received alternative employment possibilities. The Ministry of Power Machine Building presents a similar picture. Personnel officers in both ministries, albeit with difficulty, have managed to place around 200 people. A small group took their pension. An even smaller group found work for themselves.

Finding work for hundreds of specialists very quickly is a tall order. But it has to be done. And, as party documents stress, it must be done in a responsible and considered way, with care being shown for every individual and family.

"It is a pity that the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems has remained silent so far," personnel department chiefs complained.

What can one say to it? They are, unfortunately, still concerned with preliminary calculations there. In the opinion of specialists from the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, it will be possible to send roughly one-third of the 60,000 people made redundant in Moscow to departmental organizations. There will be 16,000-17,000 vacancies for engineering and technical workers in other organizations in the capital. More than 10,000 similar places are now occupied by highly paid people holding more than one job. They can hand over these places to others without harming themselves. There are proposals to reduce for 2 years the applications to Moscow VUZ's for young specialists—which represents quite a considerable reserve of places. Proposals to create cooperatives of intellectual labor and the possibility of transferring people to other regions of the country with the right of reserving accomodation in the capital are being examined... Preliminary calculations show that the problem of job placement can thus be resolved with even a certain room for maneuver.

For the time being the situation remains alarming. Today some people will again receive notice of dismissal. Will they have to face this on their own?

Obstacles to External Contacts Criticized

PM121137 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 10 Nov 87 p 6

[Article by N. Popova: "Stamp After Stamp After Stamp..."; first paragraph is in the form of an introduction]

[Text] A great deal has been done of late to simplify the procedure for obtaining exit documents. But... imagine you have received an invitation to stay with old friends in France. Well, if, hitherto, you have never doubted that the term human being and, even more so, citizen of the Soviet Union had a proud ring to it, then, on crossing the threshold of the visa and registration administration, you will shed any excess of pride when you come under the complete control of His Majesty The Bureaucracy.

"Visiting friends in capitalist countries is prohibited," I was told when I applied in May this year to the visa and registation administration in Moscow's Volgogradskiy Rayon.

"Since when? Why?"

"Don't you read the papers?" the pretty young woman sternly inquired. "Didn't you see USSR Council of Ministers resolution No 1064?"

"I did. It makes contacts betwen relatives easier, but there is nothing in it about prohibiting visits to friends."

"There is no authorization either."

"But if the law does not prohibit something and has not abolished it, it must be permitted. It goes without saying, doesn't it?"

"Nevertheless, you will not be able to take up your invitation. Those are the instructions."

Fortunately, despite the bureaucrats, who have even contrived to make evil use of a resolution adopted for people's benefit, life here is not standing still. When I returned to the visa and registration administration some months later I was given the registration forms. Two copies of an 8-page form, containing 30 questions. The forms and the party reference were supposed to carry a total of 26 signatures and 10 stamps. A marvel of bureaucratic genius! For example, there is no saying why, in one and the same form, you are called comrade and then, in another place, citizen, although it must have some deep significance. They didn't take the trouble for nothing! You thought, of course, that at the age of 18, according to the Constituition, you had come of age and thenceforth were responsible for your own actions. Not a bit of it! Having decided to visit France, first you have to obtain your husband's (wife's) written permission, and your husband's big boss has to confirm that it is your husband's signature, not someone else's husband's. And the authoritative boss' signature has to be endorsed by an equally authoritative stamp. If at any time, even 40 or 50 years ago, you have been divorced, and your present spouse has had the tact not to question you about your error of youth, the raykom will not beat about the bush and your party(?!) reference will be deemed invalid without the fateful words: "The party bureau is acquainted with the reasons for the divorce." And if your hospitable friends have invited you to stay for 2 or 3 months, their hospitality will be strictly rationed by the raykom:

"Why should we permit you to go for 2 months? We cannot grant you that privilege."

"But I am going in my own time (particularly as I work as a free-lance) and at my own expense. So where is the 'privilege'?"

I was given no explanation. Suffice it to say that it took a whole month to complete all the formalities for the visa and registation administration. There must be better ways to spend valuable working time.

Do people still believe that political distrust, suspicion, and artificial restrictions and barriers placed by indefatigable bureaucrats in the way of business, creative, and human contacts help to instill patriotism, honesty, decency, incorruptibility, and, in particular, better family relations? This formalities procedure causes nothing but a sense of grievance and humiliation.

At the very time when the raykom was deciding whether or not I was fit to visit some French Communists I had been friends with for 25 years, our party's Central Committee general secretary, at a meeting with U.S. teachers, was once again stressing the importance of contacts between people from different countries. And a short time later, greeting the Ninth All-Union Pioneer Rally, he called on our young generation to strengthen international relations with their foreign counterparts. After all, without such relations it is not possible to achieve a lasting peace, international trust, and mutual understanding, and to rid ourselves of our respective prejudices. Not without reason it is said that it is better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times. This applies equally to foreigners who are interested in the USSR, and to Soviet people who must be given better opportunities to acquaint themselves with foreign countries. Let our people judge life abroad on the basis of their own experience rather than by hearsay or from newspaper articles. The development of all forms of tourism and international contacts will strengthen rather than weaken the positions of our state.

When we get to know better the conditions in which ordinary people in the West live, when we learn to appreciate their problems, when we learn with what hard, and frequently exhausting, work they earn their higher wages, what the average family budget consists of, how much housing, education, health care, and so forth costs, then we will begin to appreciate more the advantages and stability of the socialist system, and above all the calm confidence in the future which it offers. This feature of our society is noted, not without envy, by many foreigners who visit the Soviet Union.

However, there is also a great deal that we can learn abroad. I do not just have in mind the achievements of science and technology, the standard of services, and the organization of publishing and trade. We can even learn from the general attitude to work itself, where an honestly earned kopek is regarded as nothing to be ashamed of. The wife of Robert Andre, the prominent French writer and president of the International Association of Literary Critics, without a hint of embarrassment pointed out to me in the window of a tiny Parisian shop jumpers which she and her younger daughter, who is still at school, knit to boost the family budget. Meanwhile, in

our country the newspaper *Sovetskiy Sport* recently high-handedly critized a former Olympic champion for becoming a salesman. It implied, you see, that "he lacked... civic courage. So he chose the easy way out... A courageous man in the ring, he proved weak in real life." In my view he merely acted honestly, realistically appraising his needs and potential. Is it perhaps more honorable to bemoan one's inability to cope with everyday working life and to draw a pension for former services to sport at the age of 30 or 40?

We have, for instance, studied the process of human alienation in the West so carefully that we have not noticed that a similar process has set in in our country too, and that in some way we have even managed to surpass our Western neighbors. I see the symptoms of this alienation in the utmost bureaucratization of many forms of our interpersonal relations and the countless regulations and prohibitions—("you must not," "it is not permitted," "there is no provision for," "it is prohibited," "it is inadvisable")—which stifle personality, constrain people, and result in a lack of self-confidence. At the same time, we have become harder, we have lost our elementary politeness, courtesy, benevolence, and sincere readiness to help—not to be confused with the reciprocal services exchanged by people who regard each other as "useful." We have already spoken out about the need to bring back the charity which has been lost. Foreigners are amazed at the unwillingness with which we let people pass when entering a store, for instance. Yet this unwillingness to make way, this vital principle of getting to the front (or to the top) at any price, using elbows and rudely shutting up objectors, has become a relatively widespread phenomenon in our country, and not only in the day-to-day communications between people.

Let me turn the question around: If we throw our doors and windows wide open, how can we protect ourselves against the decadent influence of the West and Western mass culture? Here I would like to cite from a book by Saltykov-Shchedrin entitled "Abroad" ["Za Rubezhom"] which was written more than a century ago and dealt with issues of the day: "It was not without trepidation that I traveled to Switzerland. I thought that as soon as I crossed the Swiss border I would be surrounded and bombarded from all sides with wrong ideas. It was not my personal 'seduction' that I feared—thank God, I was not born yesterday!—but I was afraid lest my superiors, on learning the news, feel distressed. 'He will not be able to withstand!,' 'He will perish!' I heard solicitous voices on the Neva cry." Will we never stop being afraid of those selfsame "wrong ideas"? Has our socialist state nothing to counter them with?

No matter how strange this may seem, but it is the "solicitous voices" of the people who themselves regularly travel abroad, and at the state's expense what is more, who try to warn us loudest against Western influences and the onslaught of mass culture. As for themselves, they do not worry, they will never succumb to these influences, but they are very concerned about the rest of us. At the same time, for some reason, they are not worried in the least about the production of home-spun consumerist mass culture and literature which by no means always bear the hallmark of Western influence. Another thing that is often forgotten in our country is that young people in the West not only like rock, not only dance and sing, but also start working and acquire independence and social and political maturity very early.

Experience indicates that neither bans, prohibitions, a sense of national superiority, and complacent ignorance, nor a one-sided interpretation of the complex processes which are taking place in the life of Western society can protect us against the infiltration of the West's pseudo-culture. This can be countered only by a rich and wonderful native culture. It is precisely such a culture, which has always been able to reject the washed-up flotsam while absorbing everything that was best and most valuable in world democratic culture, that we have inherited from previous generations. All we have to do is to continue and develop its traditions. Let us not forget that all our great writers and thinkers who created this culture were highly educated people who spoke foreign languages fluently and read foreign literature and newspapers in the original. They all displayed a great and invariable interest in what was happening in the world. Many of our classical writers loved traveling, and some of them lived abroad for a long time, but this did not stop them being patriots, maintaining contact with the people, and striving by action rather than words to improve the people's life and to enlighten them.

The very history of our culture bears out the usefulness of international cultural and literary ties. However, while developing international contacts and tourism, we should reexamine the attitude which has taken shape in recent years to official assignments abroad. Hiding behind red tape and various commissions, people tend to overlook the key question which must be of decisive importance when dispatching a person on a foreign tour: Will this tour be of any specific, real benefit for the institution, department, or ministry in question. During the period of stagnation it was by no means the most enterprising, creative, and efficient people who were sent abroad. For a considerable number of people (with outstanding personal data forms and references) such tours meant pleasant tourist trips at the state's expense the practical use of which was zero.

If this had not been the case, a far better situation would now prevail in many of the sectors of our national economy whose leaders regularly travel abroad with their entourage in order to acquire useful experience. Take trade, or the postal services, for instance, with whose performance we are all dissatisfied. Why is the useful foreign experience for which the state has already paid out so much not being introduced in these spheres? As regards trade, all the foreigners whom I have met in our stores have remarked on the discourtesy of our sales

assistants and asked with amused curiosity about the purpose of the wooden abacuses used by our cashiers which date back to our great grandfathers' time. This technological "miracle" has long since been firmly consigned to oblivion in the West. The total lack of reliability of our postal services was confirmed to me officially at the visa and registration administration where I was asked for two postcards bearing my address in the hope that at least one of them would sooner or later reach the addressee.

In short, what we need is less bureaucracy and laxity and more trust and creative efficiency! These, in my view, are the principles which should determine our international contacts in the age of glasnost and democratization.

Economic

Abalkin Answers Readers' Letters

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[Interview with L.I. Abalkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by Vladimir Denisov under the rubric "Our Dialogue: 'The Dialectics of Socialism'": "This Demands a Forthright Answer"—place and date not given; boldface passages as published]

[Text] [Denisov] Leonid Ivanovich, the editorial office received dozens of letters following publication of the interview "Dialectics of Socialism" on 19 July. Many letter writers agree with what you said and believe that the item helped them to gain a more profound understanding of the nature of the changes taking place in the country. But for our present interview we have selected mainly letters expressing disagreement and voicing doubts. After all, they do reflect the views held by a certain section, a group in our society, views which can be corrected only in an open argument.

Let me start with a letter by L. Stikhina from Krasnoyarsk. The publication of the interview "Dialectics of Socialism" reminded her of the article printed in one journal under the heading "Whose Pies Are More Succulent?" The letter writer rebukes social scientists and economists for the fact that very few of them paid attention to that article, which said that the alternatives are either free enterprise with its abundance of commodities or the socialist rigidly centralized leadership of the economy. There is, it said, no third option.

[Abalkin] The press has already carried materials in reply to this article, but they may not have been exhaustive enough. To be honest, I had no intention of dealing with this article. It is written in a very unprofessional manner and appears facetious. It is not simply a matter of argument, of the author having one viewpoint while I hold another. The point is that "either-or" deliberations are detached from science. This is purely metaphysical, primitive thinking using the method of exclusion and, moreover, going back to long familiar models. There were times when people knew nothing about dialectics, about the complex combinations and interweavings of contradictions, about a phenomenon's transformation into its opposite. The article "Whose Pies Are More Succulent?" claims that capitalism with its stern laws can apparently create high production efficiency while we will apparently never achieve it but, in exchange, we can have social values, normal human relations, and social justice, and that the fact that production efficiency will never be as it is in bourgeois society is not all that terrible. I think that there is no point at all in contrasting social values and production efficiency. In Marxism's view, it is in principle incumbent upon the system of socialist economic management to ensure the highest efficiency, the highest labor productivity and output quality. Not very quickly, not very easily, but this is the peak we have to conquer. Moreover, it is indeed a specific feature of the socialist system that it is bound to ensure the achievement of the highest production efficiency **while preserving, consolidating, and augmenting** the principles of social justice coupled with the absence of exploitation and the broadest development of freedoms and democratic principles in organizing social life. In our world philosophy, therefore, glasnost, democracy, justice, and respect for one another are not factors applying the brakes on the enhancement of production efficiency but are, on the contrary, social forces helping us to achieve it. As for the alternatives—either economic efficiency or social justice—I believe it to be an artificial problem running contrary to the logic of social development and the meaning of our ideals.

[Denisov] N. Avilkin from Ryazan and several other letter writers believe that, given public ownership of the means of production, this production cannot be commodity production. This is the approach they hold to be the genuinely scientific one.

[Abalkin] For a long time, Marxist literature held it as an almost indisputable thesis that the establishment of public ownership of the means of production would mean the elimination of commodity production. Such ideas were held by the founding fathers of Marxism, and Lenin also held similar views for a long time. He made forthright statements on this account, referring to the period prior to the October Revolution. But he also held other ideas at which he arrived later, when he was already analyzing actual experience. In, for example, the well known article on the 4th anniversary of the October Revolution, Vladimir Ilich drew a number of new conclusions about economic accountability [khozraschet], material interests, and the utilization of commodity-money relations. When he uttered the equally widely known words that socialism would be built not on enthusiasm alone but with the help of enthusiasm born out of the great revolution, he completed this idea of his with some highly typical words: "This is what we have been taught by life. This is what we have been taught by the objective progress of the revolution's development." Here is a model of ability to learn from life, of ability **to learn the lessons of history** without being afraid to

abandon views elaborated sometime in the past but unconfirmed by life. This is what makes Marxism-Leninism not a religion but a genuine science. The preservation of dogmas of faith regardless of the course of social development is typical of religion alone, while science is distinguished by quest, striving for truth, verification of theoretical conclusions by life, and ability to adopt new ideas.

Wonderful examples of such an approach were set by the 27th party congress and the Central Committee plenums in January and June this year which, touching on the question raised by the letter writers, spoke very clearly of the need to overcome obsolete ideas and prejudices. Practice—and not just the practice of our own country but also that of all socialist countries—and the theoretical thinking of Soviet scientists and scientists from other socialist countries proved a long time ago—scientifically and not in the form of simplistic assumptions—that the establishment of public ownership in no way signifies the end of commodity production but only that its capitalist form withers away. Commodity production as such was born long before capitalism, it exists and will continue to exist at all stages of the socialist society's development.

[Denisov] Two letter writers from Novosibirsk—V. Chzhen and Ye. Tarasova—evidently disagree with you. They demand that their article be printed in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*. Its essence is that the Second Party Program, adopted by the Eighth Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress in 1919, set the goal of eliminating commodity-money relations and replacing them by direct plan relations, of replacing trade by planned distribution of products organized on a statewide scale.... The letter writers claim that, for a long time, it was very difficult to get hold of the text of the Second Party Program, that even now the book is a bibliographical rarity, and that this was apparently done with an ulterior motive.

[Abalkin] The Eighth Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress was held at the height of the civil war, when the ideas and views of the "war communism" period were dominant. This program says more than just what the letter writers quote. It also contains the following provision: The party's goal is to introduce leveling in the distribution of products. These provisions were based on certain views, and I have already specified which ones they were. In a series of works written in the spring and fall of 1921, V.I. Lenin evaluated both the enforced nature of measures taken during the "war communism" period and the mistake in identifying them with genuine socialist principles of economic management. The strength of the party, the strength of Marxist theory, lies not in commitment to tenets and conclusions formulated in the past but in the ability to develop and enrich them, the ability to heed the voice of life, **to learn from the experience of the masses.** That is what our party has proved.

As for the Second Program, it has never been classified as "secret," and today it is published in all historical documents, including the multivolume edition of CPSU documents, where it is reproduced verbatim. All this has been published in print runs of millions, available to every reader.

[Denisov] Dotsent V. Zolotukhin from Rostov-na-Donu has to a certain extent replied to some letter writers. This is how he argues the need for the publication of "View of Restructuring" materials, including "Dialectics of Socialism": People hold peculiar opinions, and at times even prejudices, on many questions of restructuring. They have their own perception of the analysis of our contradictions, taking them to be merely the consequences of someone's mistakes and errors rather than objective realities of social development.

[Abalkin] This could also be taken as an exaggeration to a certain extent. There were mistakes, just as there were delusions. History is not a smooth movement whose actors are abstract laws and faceless masses lacking individual appearance, ideas, and views. Considerable difficulties are caused by subjective factors. But it is not, of course, they alone that determine the emergence of contradictions. Our whole history is woven from these contradictions. Even at the time when we fought alone, encircled by the capitalist world, and were forced to strain to the utmost and suffer privations. These contradictions were also caused by the fact that we were opening up the way, without any model or experience. Trailblazers in history never have been and never will be able to traverse their path without distractions, without mistakes, and without digressions, they never have found and never will find that everything has been tried and tested beforehand. Difficulties also arise from the mass of present-day circumstances, both international problems and our own internal problems, which are far from easy. The objective progress of the scientific and technical revolution also engenders its own contradictions. All this must be perceived and realistically evaluated, without any illusions about the smoothness or simplicity of the path. Let me repeat, however, that this still ought not to be taken as an excuse for mistakes and confusion or as a reason to evade responsibility. I think that the Central Committee January and June plenums set wonderful examples also in this respect by offering a courageous and genuinely Leninist evaluation. There was also talk about the responsibility to be borne by the party leadership for shortcomings allowed to occur in the work. Every state organ official, scientist, and worker must also have the courage to accept just as courageously and boldly his own share of guilt and responsibility. This must be done by workers in the mass news media and writers, and basically by all detachments of working people in our country.

[Denisov] Quite a few letters touch upon cooperative and individual labor activity. Serviceman A. Ivlev, referring to Lenin's work "On the Tax in Kind," draws the conclusion that the cooperative system is a form of state

capitalism. Since cooperatives are already in operation and individual labor activity exists, the letter writer says: If this is capitalism, it is necessary to frankly admit which elements of capitalism are allowed by us and why, and why this is not dangerous?

[Abalkin] I have often come across such arguments. I deem it appropriate and necessary to say—and I ask the editorial office to publish my reply—that our reasoning is very often based on the artificial isolation of individual statements by Lenin without any attempt to understand and interpret the way his thoughts developed and his views evolved. Lenin's views on the cooperative system did not remain immutable. In his classic article "On the Cooperative System," he also spoke of our old views on the cooperative system, of how it was viewed in the past, and of how it ought to be viewed. Indeed, during the first years of Soviet power Lenin perceived the cooperative system as one variety of state capitalism. One could cite quite a few assessments by Lenin along these lines. It was only as experience was accumulated that Lenin developed a completely new understanding of the cooperative system as a form compatible with the socialist system of economic management. He spoke of socialism as a system of civilized cooperative members, he spoke of the identical nature of the cooperative system and of socialism given state power in the hands of the working class and state ownership of the land. This was a completely new view that he elaborated. He approached the cooperative system as if it were the solution to the problem of combining social and personal interests. This, incidentally, is the most complex question of socialist transformation. And it was **precisely in the cooperative system** that Marxists finally found the degree of combination which ensures the greatest success in our development.... I can say that economic scientists must obviously also share responsibility for the fact that views similar to that expressed by Comrade Ivlev are spreading. We have failed to create convincing and weighty works which the broad masses can find intelligible and which can reveal the wealth, depth, and multifaceted nature of Lenin's thought.

Now, what is the cooperative system today—a retreat or not a retreat? Socialism is that which rules out man's exploitation of man and private capitalist ownership, it is that which serves people and assists in the better satisfaction of their needs. Hence it is necessary to formulate our starting questions with absolute accuracy. Does the development of the cooperative system in the sphere of trade, consumer services, public catering, and handicrafts assist in the better satisfaction of people's needs? If people's needs are more fully satisfied, if they have a chance to choose and earn incomes with the help of state, cooperative, and other forms of activity, this means more socialism.

[Denisov] Some letters contain perfectly specific doubts: Is it worth handing public catering over to the cooperative system, is it worth expanding polyclinics which provide paid services, and so on. Without doubting the need for cooperatives, the letter writers believe that cooperatives must not be allowed in certain sectors.

[Abalkin] I think that there is no need for such contrasts. The solution of problems must include a multiplicity of forms for the organization of trade, public catering, and medical services which ought to offer the opportunity for a certain choice. In parallel with the mass of public catering enterprises which serve thousands of people during the work day and which everyone may use every day, there ought to be an opportunity for people to satisfy their individual requirements. The same applies to polyclinics. Of course, mass medical services must be organized on a uniform state basis, providing free, universally accessible, and highly skilled services. But this does not preclude additional types of medical services which are required only in special and exceptional circumstances. Say, for example, the services of one particular highly skilled specialist. Not everyone can get treatment by him, only some of those who wish to do so. They can get treatment from him in two ways, and we know this from our own experience: Either in an "underhand" fashion, taking advantage of acquaintanceship, or by paying for these services, in other words by satisfying the demand for these services according to the extent provided by honestly earned income. Which is a sign of more socialism?

If we were to take as our starting premise the fact that the size of someone's income is really determined by the quality, usefulness, and results of his labor—which is a situation which we must reach—then the benefit of additional services, over and above those which are available to all on a free and equal basis, accrues to those who **deserve more** from society as a result of their own labor and talent. But under the shady system, these services will be available to those who take advantage of all sorts of intrigues, of so-called informal ties. We all have seen this in operation, and there has been very little socialism in it, if any at all.... The system ought to be composed of several elements in combination and, I repeat, ought to include a network of mass, inexpensive, and at times free services available to everyone regardless of income, family status, or place of residence, and providing social guarantees for every working person in the socialist country, as well as a selection of some other types of services and benefits which can be most effectively sold on an economic accountability basis.

[Denisov] One of the questions concerns guaranteed social and legal benefits for individual labor activity. Like, for example, social security, pensions, annual leave, and travel vouchers for rest homes and young pioneer camps. In other words, everything that is available to people in state enterprises. Could it be that if someone engages only in individual labor activity he may not enjoy the benefit of all this?

[Abalkin] Indeed, he may not enjoy these benefits, and people must be aware of what they are doing. The position of someone engaged in individual labor activity

differs substantially from the position of a member of a cooperative which operates in contact with a state enterprise and whose members can enjoy the entire totality of social benefits. There are several options in individual labor activity. The first is that it can be performed by a pensioner who has already earned his pension at a state enterprise like, for example, a former machine seamstress from a factory who decides to sew dresses for friends, acquaintances, and anyone else who would like to own a custom-made and unique article. There are no complications here.

The second option involves individual activity in the form of secondary employment. Like, for example, an engineer, employed in production work and entitled to all benefits, who uses his car to drive passengers for hire in the evenings. Once again, the question of benefits does not arise—he is already entitled to them. Furthermore, the forms of individual activity as secondary employment for persons below pensionable age, students, and school pupils will obviously represent the majority, the bulk. We are left with a very small group for whose members individual labor activity will represent their main vocational occupation, their main job. It is possible that such forms will also develop in, for example, the manufacture of artisan and craft products. Well, in this case you have a completely different system, people are aware that they must make their own provisions for old age or annual vacations. Generally speaking, it is unclear which trade union they can join. Of course, such people and members of their families are entitled to free education and free medical services, just like all citizens.

[Denisov] It is typical of several letters that they express a yearning for the old, a desire to revert to the style of leadership based on rigidity and prohibitions. Specifically, economist V. Paleshev from the city of Yefremov believes that, instead of allowing all that is now being allowed, we need to simply impose order, force irresponsible leaders to work better, and replace the incapable ones with capable leaders.

[Abalkin] We did apply these methods at the initial stages of our economic building. It is well known what results they produced. I would even expand on this in order to avoid any misunderstandings. A system of administrative, command leadership, just like any management system, must be integral and without any loose ends. The punitive apparatus ensures that there are no loose ends. Take this apparatus away, and the system will be unable to operate.... **The command system conforms neither** to the level of our society's development nor to the ideals of democracy and justice, nor to the level of Soviet people's political maturity, education, and skills, nor to the demands as regards the assimilation of scientific and technical achievements. It can be perceived only as a dead-end for attempted reforms which would still have to be abandoned once a heavy price has been paid for them. History and practice, and not only ours at that, prove that talent cannot be forced to work, that creativity is incompatible with commands. The progress of our society, a living, flexible, and creative society based on initiative, is incompatible in principle with such methods.

[Denisov] The letters from L. Fedorov from Yaroslavl and N. Tkachenko from Donetsk raise questions concerning the mixed enterprises being created in our country jointly with capitalists. The comrades ask: What is their position in the economic system of socialism, what is this—state capitalism or something else? Since our workers will produce profits for capitalist shareholders, does this mean that the workers are being exploited? Is there a mechanism to protect the workers' rights?

[Abalkin] First of all, we must look at the goals we set when creating joint enterprises. The entire national economy will ultimately gain from their successful work, from the retooling of production, and from the acquisition of advanced experience in the organization of production, experience which capitalism has accumulated and from which, as Lenin urged, we must learn. This will again promote our goals. To look for definitions, to simply play on words—I don't think there is any need for this. A joint enterprise is a joint enterprise, and this already says quite enough. All these enterprises operate within the framework of the Soviet state's laws, in other words our laws apply to all Soviet citizens employed at these enterprises. They are entitled to all our social benefits and, naturally, Soviet trade unions operate using all means to protect the working people's interests. As for the alleged exploitation of our workers and their profits, it is necessary to rise above fetishist approaches and not be afraid of "dirty" words. After all, we do have 70 years of history behind us.... Let me remind you that, during the first years of Soviet power, there were serious calls to demolish the Nikolayevskaya Railway, now the October Railway, because—it was claimed—working people cannot travel on a railway built with the blood and sweat of the oppressed masses. And this was being said in all seriousness!... But now no one is embarrassed by the fact that when we buy "Adidas" sports shoes, for example, we are contributing toward the profits of West German capitalists. There is no need to build up fears. Why did I mention these sports shoes? Simply because they, functioning within the framework of the socialist market, the Soviet system of price formation, and the earning of incomes, are part and parcel **of our economic ties** where there is neither exploitation nor added value. In exactly the same way, the joint enterprises will become part and parcel of our system, paying a proportion of their profits into the USSR State Budget, whose income and expenditure elements are approved by deputies elected by the Soviet people, and which is used for the social programs we consider necessary.

[Denisov] Here is what worries D. Kabanov from Yaroslavl: The introduction of full economic accountability will undoubtedly lead to differentiation of incomes without any "ceiling." This means that incomes will start

rising considerably. But does this not signify a new social stratification: Some will be earning very large amounts, while others only as much as they are earning now.

[Abalkin] There are two sets of criteria to be applied in the question of incomes. The first is whether incomes are large or small; the second, and more accurate one, is whether incomes are **according to labor or not according to labor.** If this differentiation occurs because of the varying efficiency of invested labor and the different results from this labor, then this difference in incomes is completely fair and fully in line with the principles of socialism. Earned incomes are not contradictory to socialism, and it is unimportant whether they are large or small. But if incomes are unearned or dishonestly obtained, such incomes, regardless of size, are alien to socialism. Furthermore, such problems must not be examined in a static condition, they must be viewed in their dynamics. The opportunity to engage in highly skilled and highly productive labor must be available to everyone. This availability is ensured by the universal secondary education and vocational training whose provision is undertaken by the state. The opportunity to engage in highly productive labor is also ensured by the technical reconstruction of production and the elimination of sectors using hard and unskilled labor. Everyone can apply his efforts. All this cannot be resolved at once, but we are moving in this direction. If someone to whom society has given an opportunity to apply his labor potential and to work according to his abilities (which is the first part of the fundamental principle of socialism) is unwilling to do so or is utilizing only one-half of his abilities, then let him receive one-half or one-fourth of what someone else is receiving. This is fully in line with our understanding of social justice.

[Denisov] Leonid Ivanovich, fitter N. Koval has doubts about whether the collective will actually become the real steward and master of the means of production and financial resources. "Already once before we switched from centralized to territorial management, to the national economic councils," he writes. "They gave rise to parochialism and we were forced to revert to the centralization which is now being criticized." We have the letter writer asking: Are we not likely to revive an even more dangerous form of parochialism, the parochialism of independent enterprises; are we not likely to undermine the role of one-man command to which, as he writes, Lenin attached major importance? "Once we start electing all leaders," the letter writer goes on, "we could have group interests, the egotism of self-seekers, and other suchlike tendencies gaining the upper hand."

[Abalkin] It would be incorrect to perceive the present-day restructuring as a new variation of the rejection of centralized management. That is not so. Centralism is maintained as a principle of management. What is changing are the forms and methods of its implementation. We are not, of course, talking of a revival of what happened in the period when national economic councils were being set up.... The Leninist principles of economic management are highly dialectical. Not just centralism, but democratic centralism, a **combination** of the two principles and—and this is very important—mutual **intensification** of both principles.

The intensification of centralism is not perceived as an expansion of the range of questions being solved in the center, that is a primitive view. If we were to look at it realistically, centralism was weakened even in the past. Being overloaded with the solutions to hundreds and thousands of trivial issues, central organs lost the function of solving strategic problems. Now, however, by casting off the "trivia" and focusing attention on fundamental strategic questions, we are enhancing the actual importance of centralism. But the transfer of operational functions to labor collectives makes it possible to develop and enhance independence below in parallel with the enhancement of centralism.... Comrade Koval describes one-man command as a Leninist principle. Excuse me, but the Leninist principle lies **in the combination of one-man command and collegiality.** Furthermore, according to the deeper meaning of Lenin's scheme, these again are not mutually exclusive but dialectically complementary terms. An enterprise leader elected by the collective enjoys, or rather ought to enjoy, considerably greater power of authority than today. Why? Because this authority is vested in him by both the state and the collective. Having been given this mandate to manage, a leader can act more decisively and more authoritatively on questions falling within his terms of reference. At the same time we will cure the disease whereby the working person is no longer master in his own team or his own plant, and indeed also on a statewide scale. It is through self-management and through collegiality that he will become a real participant in management with powers and rights vested in him and will elevate himself to historical creativity.

Let us not forget that there are no universal remedies. It should not be believed that, perhaps, our hopes rest on nothing but the electability of directors or other leaders as a panacea against all ills. This measure is being combined with a mass of other measures—the improvement of centralized planning, the pursuit of a uniform structural, scientific, and technical policy, the expansion of the rights of local organs and labor collectives with the simultaneous stepping up of responsibility....

A few words, incidentally, about the fear that unsuitable people may get elected. Defects can, of course occur, this is a complex process involving hundreds of thousands of various large and small enterprises, there will be both distortions and mistakes.

This must be clearly understood. There can be no sterilized measures free from delusions and mistakes. But there will be no growth of group egotism if the expansion of rights is actually supplemented by the collectives' supreme and irreversible responsibility for the quality of labor, the satisfaction of social needs, and the performance of contractual commitments. Then,

having experienced **the burden of responsibility,** you will, willy-nilly and by the force of economic necessity, elect those who are best capable of organizing affairs and achieving the best end results with the entire collective's help. Take as an example any team that has switched to full economic accountability. For a long time now, these teams have been electing their leaders and have never made any compromises. They promote the most capable and most authoritative leader. Because they know what they are doing. That is how it must be everywhere.

[Denisov] Let me read the letter by A. Stepanenko from Krasnodar Kray: "The elaboration of the concept of restructuring is basically completed. Does this mean that now we are well aware of how to act in the future? For example, a mass transition to economic accountability will get under way soon. It is quite possible that all sorts of errors, distortions, and obscure points will come to light, and it will become necessary to embark on fundamental corrections. Are we not quite likely to start backpedaling altogether? Where are the guarantees of the correctness of the chosen path, of the irreversibility of economic restructuring?"

[Abalkin] It is impossible to insure any major restructuring against possible mistakes. But, as M.S. Gorbachev said, the greatest mistake is to be afraid of making mistakes. Remaining inactive and passively waiting to see how things will turn out seems simpler than a bold and decisive break, than the adoption of new approaches. We cannot stand still, and it is in fact impossible in principle. Anyone who stops will inevitably find himself trailing along in the wake of events, with the waves of history rolling over him.

As for any possible deviations, even if they did occur they would affect not the strategic direction of restructuring but only individual specific solutions which would probably require further clarification.

On what is our confidence based? On the fact that the proposed restructuring is not an improvisation, it is not the product of bureaucratic deliberations. It is backed by 70 years of experience and its interpretation. It is no accident that all the documents adopted in the last few years by the 27th congress and the Central Committee January and June plenums are linked with interpretations of historical experience, the lessons of real life, and the truth of the past. This is what provides the basis for the substantiated, logically verified, and ideologically backed concept of transformations, a concept founded on the facts, arguments, proofs, and logic of the experience not only of our country but also of other states. It is its **strict scientific nature** that renders the present course realistic and inspires confidence in its correctness.

Now about the guarantees. Guarantees—this is a word we often use nowadays, but I am not particularly impressed by it. This word has the connotation of something predestined, something independent of our actions, something fatalistic if you like. If we did have guarantees that restructuring is irreversible regardless of how we work, of whether or not we are able to overcome negative trends, of whether we are active or passive, why should we actually bother? It can be said that now we have not just a goal, not just a highway marked on the map of historic changes, but also a **clear understanding** of the totality of mutually complementary means and conditions in the sphere of economic reforms, in the transformations of political life, in the development of its democratic principles, in spiritual life, in the reference to the people's collective experience, in social and national relations, and in the consideration of the differing positions of social groups, their goals, and their motivations. It is this totality of measures that must become a condition of the irreversibility of restructuring.

[Denisov] Here we have the opinion of N. Reshetnikov from Novosibirsk. "Restructuring at the top is noticeable," the letter writer believes. "Certain changes are taking place in, for example, the Gosplan, the Gossnab, and other central organs. For the time being, however, such changes are either not to be seen or there are only a few of them at oblast, rayon, or plant level. This is evidently the effect of the braking mechanism which has been the topic of so much talk recently. But what exactly is this mechanism and how is it to be demolished?"

[Abalkin] One could have a good argument with the writer of this letter, everything depends on the viewpoint and position from which one examines the processes now under way. It seems to me, for example, that restructuring is mainly taking place at the bottom, within labor collectives and the most basic cells of life. There are examples from a number of oblasts, cities, and rayons where tangible changes have already occurred, where the fresh breath of the new course can already be felt. This is being done considerably more slowly at the top, in the Gosplan and the ministries. This could be attributed to my personal view of the problems. Furthermore, changes are somehow taking place gradually, unnoticeably. It is impossible to imagine that while everything remained the same yesterday it would already have changed by this morning. But of course, one does sense a new mood among people, a new attitude toward work, one can already sense that people feel that they are not just passive observers of events but **active creators** of restructuring.

The braking mechanism is a mechanism composed of a mass of interconnected problems: The deformation of the economy itself, the imbalances which have developed, the shortage of resources, the practice of leveling distribution, formalism, the state administrative style of leadership.... All this is backed by all sorts of "theoretical" justifications which, for example, perceive the administrative command leadership as fully in accord with socialism and organically inherent in it. A system of stereotypes, of views and convictions that it should not be otherwise, is still operating. There are cadres who were brought up in precisely this spirit and who proceed

in their activity from what seem to be the best considerations, from concern for socialism. The braking mechanism can be demolished only by actions. It must be floodlit by the illumination of glasnost, stripped of all its veils, and described in all its features and elements. It must generate a mass desire for changes and efforts to restructure the activity both of labor collectives and of the top echelons of management. The braking mechanism will be demolished by new approaches in cadres policy and in the formation of a cadre corps to lead the economy and social life. What we need is this type of concerted action with clear awareness of the methods for the elimination of shortcomings and of the model we are aiming for in the course of transformations. This is a difficult process, a matter that will take several years rather than just a year. What we need are **courage, patience, persistence, and the will** to bring the work we have began to its completion.

[Denisov] Leonid Ivanovich, in just over 2 months' time 60% of enterprises will enter a new stage of their life—the transition to full economic accountability. A group of readers ask: What are the difficulties and complexities facing these enterprises at the last stage of preparations, what calls for particular attention today, what actually causes the greatest concern?

[Abalkin] A very complex question. Actually, we are not talking about 60% of enterprises, but about enterprises producing 60% of the total volume of output. This is a vast proportion of our industry. All the rest will embark on the new path a year later. The most complex problem involves the fact that restructuring is being implemented on the move rather than in ideally created conditions. What does the problem actually consist of? It is possible to single out two of its aspects. First, the transition to principles of full economic accountability and self-financing is being effected within the framework of the current 12th 5-Year Plan, which has been approved and cannot be changed. This means that, while implementing restructuring and transition to economic accountability, it is necessary to ensure the achievement of the state plan's strategic targets which have been set by the 27th party congress. The complexity here lies in the fact that, to a certain extent, it will become necessary to tailor the indicators, normatives, and economic incentive funds to a plan that is already elaborated and was drawn up under the old system of management. This is why it is very important to plan for every labor collective measures and conditions which would make it possible to ensure the solution of such a complex task.

The second problem involves the fact that the transition of a large number of enterprises and associations to full economic accountability and self-financing is taking place prior to changes in other elements of the economic mechanism. In particular, prior to the implementation of a price reform, in other words under the old price system with all its shortcomings and without the necessary flexibility. Only a very first and quite cautious step will be taken along the avenue of developing wholesale trade in the means of production. Enterprises, even when they operate efficiently and earn considerable funds for technical reconstruction, will not always be in a position to materialize these funds due to the limited supply of resources. The restructuring of the finance, credit, and banking system will not have been completed either, and this will also complicate the work. That is why, at the first stage, it is very important to rely on the enterprises' internal reserves. As a rule, they are quite considerable.

Even front-ranking enterprises incur large losses of work time through poor organization of production, extensive waste, and losses which could compensate the shortage of material resources. It is important to apply the system of labor remuneration, which will also be introduced at the same time, in such a fashion as to ensure that the paramount goal is the mobilization of key reserves which could provide the initial spur. When a car, for example, has to drive off at high speed, it still needs the starting impulse. Here is a simple example: One or two persons by themselves would find it very difficult to move a loaded stationary railroad car. Incredible effort and extreme exertion of strength would be required. But if they do manage to get it moving, these same two persons would be able to keep it going and even make it gather speed.

It seems to me that labor collectives must not expect that some fantastic new conditions will be created overnight, that material resources will flow in abundance, that all restrictions will be lifted, and that everything will get going smoothly. No, our sights must be set on very hard work, on quest, **on the activation of reserves that are close at hand.** Nor can it be expected that all these enterprises will be able to obtain modern equipment and technology as early as next year. That is unrealistic. The modernization of production is a strategic program geared to a period of years. But we do have also wonderful experience whereby the reliability, operational qualities, and productivity of equipment are substantially boosted with the help of relatively small-scale modernization implemented by skilled craftsmen applying their own efforts. This means that such talented people must be found. Efforts may have to be concentrated on a narrow front, using the latest machinery and ultimately writing off any surplus unutilized capacities which today are only a burden for enterprises and cannot be backed by labor resources. It would be far more useful to operate the most up-to-date assets in two and three shifts.

Briefly, the most progressive and efficient organization of production, economic accountability, workers' wisdom, and the working people's skills—it is very important to activate these forces right at the very first stage, thus gradually **building up the driving force** which is inherent in the integral system of full economic accountability and self-financing.

[Denisov] Let me turn again to the nature of our mailbag. All the letters—those which were cited and those which we were unable to deal with in our conversation—

are imbued with concern for the country and our common cause. I would like to conclude the conversation with a question asked by our reader L. Grigoryeva from Sverdlovsk. This is what worries her: "What is the meaning of the thesis that 'the fate of socialism depends on restructuring,' a thesis that one often encounters nowadays?"

[Abalkin] This is a forthright question, and it demands an equally forthright answer. The deformations which occurred in our society over the last few decades and were exacerbated in the late seventies and early eighties, sharply diminished the prestige and magnetic force of the socialist ideal. It lost its attractiveness for many people. People compared our indicators with other countries, countries that are far from socialist but have achieved quite high indicators in both living standards and social security. We cannot ignore the fact that public moods and opinions do influence the choice of historic destinies and historic paths. Any serious lagging in the technical sphere, in the assimilation of modern scientific and technical ideas, in production efficiency, and in labor productivity could gradually place our country in a position of dependence on the capitalist world, in a position where others could dictate the conditions of our development while we remain helpless, both economically and technically, in the face of this pressure. It is impossible to prevent this by any purely moral factors. Will society's further advance be along the path of strengthening socialism and expanding its influence in the world or along the path of curtailing its gains—these are not empty words but a real danger which was boldly evaluated by our party. The historic destiny of socialism and the future of its development are not in some imagined danger. It is also clear that we, aware of the tremendous advantages of socialism and believing in them, must **demonstrate these advantages** in practice, through specific results and not just in words and show that our future is linked with socialism. Restructuring, its success, and its achievements are, in this sense, what strengthens the positions of socialism and its magnetic force.

We remain loyal to the ideals emblazoned on our banner at the very start of Soviet society's revolutionary path, the banner of October. Everything that we are doing now is the further and actual enhancement of principles of socialism like the people's power, democracy, glasnost, planned management of the economy, democratic centralism, the combination of one-man command and collegiality, work according to ability, and distribution according to labor. Although we do have a deeper and more precise perception of these principles. This is the encapsulation of our society's entire experience of the last 70 years. [end Abalkin]

The editorial office expresses thanks to all readers who sent letters in reply to the article "The Dialectics of Socialism."

Power Station Discontinued Due to Protest

LD080735 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0640 GMT 8 Nov 87

[Text] Riga, 8 November TASS—Correspondent Igor Kovalenko writes: The River Zapadnaya Dvina which has its sources on the expanses of Russia and crosses the lands of Belorussia and Latvia, where it is called Daugava, will preserve its original outlook for posterity in its upper and middle reaches. This is safeguarded by the decision of the USSR Government on discontinuing the construction of the Daugavpils Hydroelectric Power Station [GES] in Latvia. This decision was preceded by a sharp discussion in the press. More than 30,000 people—scientists, writers, people living in adjoining areas—have sent written protests to state bodies. Their objections were due to the fact that the implementation of the GES project was begun without comprehensive consideration of the ecological and social effects of its construction and operation.

Glasnonst and democracy in resolving most important state questions have made it possible for the public opinion to prevail over the narrow departmental interests of power specialists. The halting of construction at the GES on the Daugava will make it possible to avoid loss of arable lands and to preserve the proper ecological environment in the adjacent regions of Soviet Republics.

Management Conference Materials Published

PM090945 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 45, Nov 87 (Signed to Press 29 Oct 87) p 8

[Unattributed "New Books" review of "The Reform of Economic Management: Problems and Quest [Reforma Upravleniya Ekonomikoy: Problemy i Poisk]"]

[Text] A.G. Aganbegyan, L.I. Abalkin, N.Ya. Petrakov, et al. Edited by A.G. Aganbegyan. Moscow, Economic Literature Publishing House, 1987, 318 pages [subhead]

An all-union scientific conference on "Problems of the Scientific Organization of Economic Management" was held in Moscow 13-15 November 1986. The conference was organized by the NEO [precise expansion unknown] Central Board, the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Section, the Committee for Management Problems under the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, the "Optimal Planning and Management of the National Economy" Scientific Council, and the CPSU Central Committee weekly *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta.*

The conference was held so that the forces of the scientific community could discuss the concepts of fundamental restructuring of economic management, whose elaboration was a task set by the 27th party congress. The conference materials were used to work out questions concerning the fundamental restructuring of economic management.

The book under review includes reports, read at the conference and published in *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, on a broad range of theoretical and practical problems of the radical reform of economic management and reviews of the discussions on them.

The book gives particular attention to explaining the general directions and ways for the implementation of economic reform, the problems of self-financing by enterprises and associations, and the restructuring of the mechanism of distribution according to labor. It examines questions concerning the formation of modern organizational structures, the development of a system of work with economic leaders, and the democratization of economic management. The book is meant for economic leaders, scientific workers, and propaganda workers.

Agricultural

Crop Growth Stops as Cold Weather Hits

PM061629 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 5 Nov 87 p 4

["The Weather and the Crops" by Agrometeorologist A. Grishina]

[Text] The weather was dry and cold over most of the USSR's European territory in the final 10 days of October. Mean air temperature was 2-5 degrees below the long-term average. The minimum air and ground-level (or snow-level) temperature was minus 6 to minus 13 (with minus 16 in places). The temperature was minus 1 to minus 5 in the south of the Ukraine, Moldavia, and the North Caucasus, where there was also rain and sleet and in some regions an unusually early snow cover between 1 cm and 8 cm deep. Winds were strong.

October was unusually dry in a number of oblasts in the Central, Central-Chernozem, Volga-Vyatka, and Northern regions. Vegetation has ceased among winter grain crops over most of the territory of the Northern, Northwestern, Volga-Vyatka, Urals, Central, and Central-Chernozem regions. The soil was frozen to a depth of 10-20 cm and the minimum soil temperature at tillering node depth was minus 1-minus 3, with minus 5-minus 7 in places.

In the Baltic region, Belorussia, the north and west Ukraine, and most of the Volga region winter grain crops were mainly in the tillering phase. They are in a good or satisfactory condition. It turned cold at the end of October and vegetation ceased.

The very cold weather in the Transcaucasian republics has persisted (night temperature minus 1-minus 5, with minus 6-minus 10 in mountain regions). There was considerable rain and snow. Precipitation amounted to 40-70 mm, with 100-150 mm in places. The snow cover measured 10-30 cm in a number of regions (with up to 60 cm in high mountain regions). Areas sown to sugar beet, potatoes, and tobacco were under snow. There were strong winds causing fruit and grapes to fall. Field work came to a halt.

It was cold in crop farming regions of Siberia and the northern half of Kazakhstan. At the end of the final 10 days there was 16-25 degrees of frost at night with up to 26-29 degrees in the Altay mountains. The soil was frozen to a depth of 10-30 cm. Winter grain crops are in a state of dormancy under 3-10 cm of snow. Conditions at the beginning of winter were good.

In the Central Asian republics and the southern half of Kazakhstan the weather was warm and dry in the first half of the final 10 days, which helped the cotton to ripen, but the temperature then fell abruptly. There was heavy rain and snow fell. The snow cover was 2-10 cm deep with 40-60 cm in the Fergana valley—the first time that such a figure has been recorded in the past 100 years. Harvesting work has stopped. During the cold period the cotton and winter grain crop vegetation ceased. Unripe upper and middle stage cotton bolls died off everywhere. The temperature rose at the beginning of November and winter grain crop vegetation resumed. The crops' moisture supply is good.

Harvest, Grain Sales Data Reported

Krasnoyarsk Kray

PM061751 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 3 Nov 87 p 7

[TASS report under the rubric "Shock Work": "Siberian Grain"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk, 2 Nov—The plan for grain sales to the state has been fulfilled by farmers in Krasnoyarsk Kray. A total of 1.25 million tonnes of grain has been taken to the elevators.

The harvest in the Siberian fields has been unusually difficult. The late spring and cold summer delayed the ripening of the grain. In the autumn the machine operators were held up by rain. But even under these conditions farmers at the "Iskra" Sovkhoz in Uzhurskiy Rayon were able to harvest an average of 41 quintals of grain per hectare over an area of more than 18,000 hectares. The greatest contribution to the Siberian grain harvest was made by Shushenskiy, Kanskiy, Altayskiy, Novoselovskiy, Minusinskiy, Sukhobuzimskiy, and Balakhtinskiy Rayons.

A substantial increase—more than 10 quintals on average—was produced in the kray by intensively grown grain crops. They cover an area of 660,000 hectares. The team contract is also becoming increasingly widespread. More than half of all collectives work under this progressive method of labor organization.

Lutsk Oblast

PM061757 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 6 Nov 87 p 1

[Own correspondent I. Germakovskiy report: "Plans Ahead of Schedule"]

[Excerpt] Lutsk, 5 Nov—Volyn Oblast agricultural workers have fulfilled ahead of schedule plans for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan for the production and sales to the state of the main types of agricultural products.

This year 240,000 tonnes of grain, 260,000 tonnes of potatoes, 17,500 tonnes of long-stemmed flax, 434,700 tonnes of milk, and 110,000 tonnes of meat have been sold, which is considerably more than last year. [passage omitted]

Murakhovskiy, Others View Equipment

PM061101 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Practical Deeds of Restructuring"]

[Text] L.N. Zaykov and V.P. Nikonov, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the All-Union Institute for Agricultural Machine Building 31 October and familiarized themselves with models of new and highly productive agricultural equipment developed by the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building designer collectives.

The collective of the "Gomselmash" Association's design bureau was the first in the country to develop, within a brief period of time and on a competitive basis, the "Polesye-250" all-purpose power plant. It is a reversible machine, with forward and rear hinged mechanisms and power selection shafts, and exerts low relative pressure on the soil. It is designed to operate with various feed harvesting attachments and a large variety of tools for agricultural, road making, and municipal service purposes, and thanks to its all-purpose design can be used virtually all the year round.

Particular attention was given to a feed harvesting combine designed to operate with this power plant. The combine, with its fundamentally new working elements, makes it possible to obtain high-quality feed. This equipment is now undergoing state tests. Emphasis was placed on the need to assimilate the series production of these machines within a brief period of time. The USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building was instructed to ensure the manufacture of a large industrial batch of power plants and attachment tools as early as 1988.

The results of the fulfillment of tasks regarding the enhancement of the technical standards and quality of the series-produced KSK-100A feed harvesting combines were examined at the same time. It was noted that the work that was done has made it possible to significantly boost the products' reliability. The modifications that were introduced have made it possible to improve the quality of feeds procured.

New equipment for the drill cultivation of potatoes and corn and the harvesting of vegetable crops was also demonstrated.

Taking part in the tour were V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Machine Building; A.I. Volskiy and I.I. Skiba, chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments; A.A. Yezhevskiy, minister of tractor and agricultural machine building; and other senior officials and specialists.

Concern About 'Capital' Farm Work Voiced

PM061143 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 87 First Edition p 1

[A. Murzin "Agricultural Review" under the rubric "In the Country's Fields": "For Future Harvests"]

[Excerpts] The "strange" fall has disrupted the rhythm of agricultural work. Farms are still harvesting potatoes, beets, sunflowers, and even, in places, grain. The pace of the cotton harvest is only now reaching its peak. The rate of harvesting, which has been displaced by almost 1 month, has affected the preparation of fields for the 1988 harvest. True, kolkhozes and sovkhozes have practically coped with sowing winter crops. The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that they have already been sown on 37 million hectares—96% of the plan. The situation regarding fall plowing is worse: So far it has been carried out only on 89 million hectares—13 million hectares less than this time last year. The belated "Indian summer" in a number of places is making it possible to make up for lost time.

The situation is far more complex with regard to "capital" work in the fields—work which lays the foundations not only for the next harvest but also for harvests after that. This includes liming, applying fertilizers to the fields, and reclaiming and recultivating land.

There are approximately 70 million hectares of acid soils in the country. If you consider that it takes 6-7 years for liming to take effect, then lime, marl, and dolomite have to be applied to 10-11 million hectares annually. At present, however, just a little over 7 million hectares a year are being limed. This work is still being carried out extremely slowly in the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone and in West and East Siberia.

Approximately 20 million hectares of fields need gypsuming. But in 1986 just... 375,000 hectares were gypsumed. No particular progress is visible this year either. The pace of this work has hardly increased at all in Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, or Moldavia. [passage omitted]

Large losses of plowland are still occurring. Since 1980 65,000 hectares of plowland have been lost in Lithuania, 38,000 hectares in Belorussia, 19,000 hectares in Moldavia, 30,000 hectares in Tambov Oblast, and 15,000 hectares in Lipetsk Oblast.

The situation regarding land recultivation has improved somewhat. Last year 156,000 hectares were restored for the first time—almost as much as was destroyed. But industrial enterprises also have a large debt: At the beginning of 1987 there were 1,938,000 hectares of derelict land in the country, of which 720,000 hectares was worked out, that is was subject to recultivation. As we see, there is still a large gap. Meanwhile, those same chernozem soils piled in heaps at mines in the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly quickly lose their quality and become mineralized, and the recultivation of thousands of shattered hectares could cease to have any point. But the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy is in no hurry to return these "lunar" fields to the people.

A special mention for the allocation of plowland for nonagricultural needs. Now that higher, more palpable prices have been introduced for a hectare of plowland, the "appetites" of enterprises and departments for land have at once fallen by a factor of three: Whereas they used to "devour" 150,000 hectares a year, this figure has now fallen to 50,000 hectares. However, another calamity has now come about: Kolkhozes and sovkhozes themselves have begun to use up large areas of plowland—up to 30,000 hectares a year—for internal farm construction. It is necessary to build in the countryside. But not on plowland! Cities are also continuing to seize huge tracts of land, swallowing up hundreds of nearby fields and villages. M. Lyashko of Belorussia, V. Morozyuk of Zaporozhye, R. Shchegol of Odessa, I. Zenkov of Ryazan, D. Gutsulyak of the settlement of Verkhovina in Ivano-frankovsk Oblast, and many others write in alarm to *Pravda* about all this.

In the summer the USSR Prosecutor's Office verified the fulfillment of legislation on safeguarding agricultural land and uncovered glaring instances of its being squandered and taken over without authorization. The greatest number of such malicious violations have occurred in the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Belorussia, Moldavia, Turkmenia, and Saratov Oblast. What now? Takeovers and spoiling of land are continuing. [passage omitted]

Media Report 5-8 Nov Developments

LD0990054 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless other wise indicated, for 5-8 November. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

5 November

The USSR Gosagroprom reports that harvesting of bread grain has practically been completed nationwide. More than 210 million tons of grain have been harvested. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 0400)

Lithuanian farmers have overfulfilled the plan for sale of flax to the state. More than 13,000 tons of fiber has been supplied to linen factories. (0900)

Kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers in Kiev Oblast fulfilled ahead of schedule the plan of the first 2 years of the 5-year plan for the sale of basic varieties of farming produce. More than 439,000 tons of livestock and poultry have been sold. This is the result of the first steps of restructuring carried out in the agro-industrial collectives. (0130)

In Tajikistan, cotton picking continues; to date the 700 thousandth ton of cotton has been delivered. Rates of picking are behind last year's because of downpours. (1200)

Tatariya has fulfilled its 2-year plan for sales to the state of all livestock products. Milk yields per cow are now 3,000 kg; this is expected to rise by the end of the year. (1200)

Kazakhstan: 716,000 tons of grain has been dispatched from the Irtysh areas of Pavlodar Oblast, 6,000 tons above plan targets. All the wheat is of strong, hard and valuable varieties. Sufficient seed has been set aside and some grain has been used for forage. (1200)

Dzhambul Oblast has sold the state 714,000 tons of sugar beets; the plan was 710,000 tons. (1200)

Tajikistan procurement stations have received 700,000 tons of cotton, 78% of the target. This is less than last year because of the rains. (1200)

6 November

Farmers in the Ukraine have fulfilled the annual plan for grain sales to the state: 17.7 million tons of grain have been delivered to granaries. (1500)

7 November

Strenuous work is continuing in the country's cotton fields. The USSR Central Statistical Administration has reported that by 2 November, 6.35 million tons of raw cotton had been picked, which is considerably less than the same period last year. Of all the cotton-growing republics, only Turkmenia is harvesting somewhat ahead of schedule. Turkmenia has procured 1.1 million tons for light industry. Recently, following unusually heavy

snowfall, it has warmed up in the Central Asian Republics, but most cotton still has to be picked manually. Work is currently underway on sugar beets, corn, and sunflowers too. (0100)

8 November

Many Kazakhstan farms have overfulfilled the plan for the sale of grain to the state. These indices are especially high in Dzhambul, Alma-Ata and Taldy-Kurgan Oblasts. (1200)

Kazakhstan's agricultural workers have completed harvesting spring crops. Grain crops, rice and maize have been reaped and threshed on almost 30 million hectares. Sugar beet, potato and vegetable harvesting has been completed. Only in the southern rayons of Chimkent Oblast is harvesting continuing—cotton picking is being completed there. Despite this year's exceptionally difficult weather, many farms in the republic overfulfilled the plan for the sale of grain to the state. (0900)

Scientific

'Cosmos-1,895' Satellite Launched

LD111517 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1506 GMT 11 Nov

[Text] Moscow, 11 Nov (TASS)—The launch of the latest artificial earth satellite, "Cosmos-1,895," was carried out in the Soviet Union today.

Scientific apparatus intended for continuing space research is installed on board the satellite.

The satellite has been put into orbit with the parameters: initial period of revolution - 90.4 minutes; maximum distance from the earth surface - 402 kilometers; minimum distance from the earth surface - 217 kilometers; inclination of orbit - 70.4 degrees.

The apparatus installed aboard the satellite is working normally.

Problems of Lengthy Manned Spaceflights Aired

PM101327 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian31 Oct 87Second Edition p 4

[Aleksandr Nemov interview with pilot-cosmonaut G. Grechko under the headline "On One Flight... Yuriy Romanenko: 267 Days in Space"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] On the eve of the October Revolution anniversary we met G. Grechko, twice Hero of the Soviet Union and USSR pilot-cosmonaut, at the Mission Control.

[Grechko] During these earthbound, ordinary minutes while we are talking, Yuriy Romanenko is in orbit. A quite different time dimension exists for him: Every minute represents a step into the unknown. Yuriy has spent more time in space than anyone else. Almost 9 months! Although, knowing him as I do, he probably does not attach any particular importance to this. He is concentrating fully on the flight program. It has been a difficult flight, involving an unorthodox docking, unscheduled extravehicular activity, and the unexpected replacement of his partner, Sasha Laveykin. Now a new experiment is underway to research the potential of such a long period spent in weightlessness by man. Yuriy will have to undertake this experiment himself. There is no getting away from it....

Naturally, you can only draw definitive conclusions on all the effects of such a flight when the pilot is back on earth again. That is why it is accepted practice among us cosmonauts not to speculate on results of an expedition prematurely. I would like to talk about something else: Yuriy's reliability, without which we could not have achieved so much in orbit, both during this expedition and on others in the *"Salyut-6"*.

It came about quite by chance that I was on the same team as Romanenko. I was brought in 2 months before the launch was scheduled. I underwent training for a flight of record length at the time (1978)—3 months. To be honest, we simply did not have time to "get into the groove" and become used to working as a team. This worried me. The success of any flight largely depends on the psychological microclimate among the crew. If conflicts arise in orbit, there can be no really intensive work; this has been shown by our experience in long space flights. It seemed as if everything had been so arranged to ensure that such conflicts arose: Romanenko was in command, while I was assigned the position of flight engineer, but he had never flown in space before, whereas I had. He is 13 years younger than I. What is more, he is highly strung and temperamental. I am not fond of people who give orders.

So you can imagine my amazement when we easily reached an agreement several days before the launch was due: We would act as if Yuriy was not the commander and as if this was my first time in space. We were a team. This approach allowed us to avoid many "sharp corners" in relations in our small "terrestrial home"—the orbital station. We even tried to dictate our "will" to Mission Control: "Do not give us separate instructions for 'Taymyr-1' (Romanenko) and 'Taymyr-2' (me). Just say 'Taymyr' do such-and-such, and we ourselves will decide who does what."

Even we, of course, had our "black day." The mental fatigue made itself felt. An argument blew up over nothing. We had been talking about our profession's prospects. I believed that pilot-cosmonauts were already on the way out. In any case, they are no longer the main link in the conquest of outer space. "Our" time was coming—the era of the flight engineer. After all, piloting a spacecraft basically amounts to docking or undocking, whereas the flight engineers have much more to do on a long flight. Yura, a pilot by profession, categorically

disagreed with me. And I did not want to give way either. It is easier on earth: I could have "slammed" the door and walked away. This could not be done in space. So our argument approached the "danger point." We were already raising our voices.... Eventually, feeling that this discussion would lead to no good—Yura had a real temper on him once you got him going—I pushed myself away from the wall and floated into another compartment, shouting a few parting words to Yura: "I've had enough of this argument...." The heavy silence did not last long. I felt a hand on my shoulder and turned round. Yuriy was standing there, smiling: "Zhora, what have we got ourselves so wound up about? The flight is going well. If we argue, we will mess everything up in a moment...."

The flight was indeed going well. There were a few hiccups, but we coped with them. The last ordeal fell to the lot of Yuriy Romanenko.

The flight was drawing to a close; just over 2 weeks were left to touchdown. I was surprised to notice that Yuriy was taking painkillers several times a day. As the directions for use specified no more than two tablets per day, he was considerably exceeding the dose. I did not want to bother him with questions, as I thought he would tell me himself. But he kept quiet about it, and I could see that his eyes were literally rolling with pain. I became seriously worried about him. I said to Yuriy: Tell me what is going on. He confessed that he had had toothache for several days. I cannot put up with the torment any longer, he said. I suggested that we make urgent contact with earth to ask a doctor what to do. He refused. It would be a disgrace to complain of a toothache. I tried to persuade him that this was beside the point, as his state of health would affect his ability to work. We had "more than enough" to do: We were soon to receive a visit from a Soviet-Czech team (A. Gubarev and V. Remek). But Yuriy stubbornly insisted on having his own way. We eventually agreed that I would tell earth that I was the one with a toothache and Yuriy would follow the doctor's advice. This we did, but the problem stayed just the same: Yuriy was in very great pain and the advice given was designed to ease a slight indisposition: Take a mouthwash and keep warm. He really needed professional help from a dentist: This could not be done in space....

Yura wrapped himself up in a warm scarf and wore a hat. But it was obvious that this would be of no help. Meanwhile, he continued work, never letting up. He found things particularly difficult during television hookups from the station. He removed his hat, unwound his scarf, and, smiling, told millions of television viewers how beautiful the earth looked from space. At the time, only I knew what this hookup with earth was costing Yura....

Yura had to suffer his ordeal for 2 long weeks. But his work remained unaffected. We touched down exactly on schedule....

Several weeks ago, on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the first satellite launch, a direct hookup was established between the orbital complex *"Soyuz TM-3"-"Mir"-"Kvant"* and the "Rossiya" Central Concert Hall, where a ceremonial performance was in progress. Yura observed at the time that he would not mind being on earth at that moment, in the concert hall. I was master of ceremonies and said that I would willingly give up my place on the presidium in exchange for his place on the station. After the hookup, I was asked by people in the audience who I would like to accompany me on such a long flight? I replied sincerely:

Romanenko!

From the Editor [subhead]

On behalf of all *Sovetskaya Rossiya* readers we have sent congratulations to Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Aleksandrov via Mission Control on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

BRIEFS

Nuclear Filter Isolates AIDS

Moscow 11 Nov (TASS)—Scientists at the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research in the town of Dubna near Moscow have developed nuclear filters to isolate the AIDS virus, reports the Magazine *Nauka i Zhizn*. This filter is manufactured using a bundle of charged elementary particles, directed at a polymer film, in which thin channels are burned out. This enables the required structure of the filter to be predicted in advance and created. Nuclear filters have been used in a prototype system devised in the USSR to determine antibodies for the AIDS virus, with the aid of which carriers of the disease are revealed. The pores in the filters have been selected in such a way that they do not miss the virus, the size of which is about one-tenth of a micron. It is not possible to isolate the AIDS virus by the traditional reticular membranes obtained by chemical means as it becomes interactive with the membrane material and is impossible to "tear away". The AIDS virus does not stick in nuclear filters, and so it can be isolated. It is not damaged as a result of purification. Nuclear filters created by Soviet scientists are also used for the purification of water, solutions, the filtration of viruses, and raising the concentration of vaccines. [Text] *[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 11 Nov 87 LD]*